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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF *LEWIS the GREAT*, TILL THE General Peace, Concluded at RESWICK, In the YEAR, 1697.

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C n C

THE

PREFACE.

TWO Great Men being at this time Employ'd in Writing the Hiſtory of our King; 'tis for their moſt Excellent Pieces the Publick ought to reſerve their Admiration, mine being, in compariſon of theirs, but an Eſſay. It is from their moſt Skilful Pen, the Curious muſt expect to be enlightned in Matters of the greateſt Moment, I being ready to ſubmit the whole to their Judgment. It is to them I appeal, as to the true Judges of Hiſtory; and what Difficulties are to be ſurmounted, to merit the Name of a good Hiſtorian. His Stile ought to be livelyand natural, and to have an equal mixture of Sweetneſs and Purity;

He ought to have an equal Share of Wit and Judgment, to repreſent Matters with the utmoſt Fidelity, and an undaunted Courage, to unmask Vice, and give due Praiſe to vertuous Actions. Theſe great Talents requiſite in an Hiſtorian, made me tremble at the very Thougts of this Undertaking, till a certain Friend of mine, a Perſon of extraordinary Merits and Parts, did in ſome meaſure recover me from the Fear that ſeiſed me, repreſenting to me, that ſuch a Combination of Perfections muſt be conſidered and numbred among thoſe imaginary Accompliſhments, which are made uſe of in Sciences, to encourage us to ſuch great Undertakings, as are ſought after by many, but attained to by few. But if it be ſo great a Task to write a general Hiſtory, how much more difficult is it to write the Hiſtory of our Time, to give it a true Reliſh, that agreeable

Varie-

Variety, and other Embelliſhments, by which the antient Hiſtorians have rendred their Names ſo Famous to Poſterity. They had frequent Opportunities to give moſt ample Demonſtrations of their Eloquence, in theſe magnificent Harangues, which are to be met with in their Works, under the *Names* of their Great Captains, who before they Engaged in Battle, uſed to Animate their Troops, by repreſenting to them the Juſtice of their Cauſe, and to Encourage them with certain hopes of Victory. Our Princes and Generals have laid aſide this Way of Addreſſing themſelves to their Soldiers, which takes away from our Modern Hiſtorians the Advantage of Embelliſhing their Hiſtorical Relations with theſe agreeable Diverſions and Events, which ſurpriſe the Reader, and which are of no ſmall Moment to take away the Tediouſneſs

of

of the Relations of the many Sieges and Battles, which happen in a long War, without any other mixture of pleaſing Varieties. When the antient Hiſtorians repreſent to us a Great Miniſter of State in the Cabinet of his Prince; or an Aſſembly of Wiſe Senatours deliberating in Council concerning ſome Affairs of the greateſt Moment, they lay hold of this Opportunity to unfold the whole Myſtery of the Matrer, and to lay it open to the view of the Reader, and by their different Advice, to diſcover all the Craft and Intrigues of the moſt refined Politicians. Theſe pretended Diſcoveries have a ſecret Charm which is infinitely pleaſing to many, who meaſure the Ability of an Hiſtorian by his Inſight into Matters of State, and by his diving into the Events of Things, from far fetch'd Cauſes. A Prejudice common to the greateſt Part of Mankind, who

imagine that Princes never act according to their Inclinations, but are only guided by ſome more ſecret Motives; juſt as if Great Men by being placed in a high Station, were diveſted of theſe Paſſions incident to the reſt of Mankind. But howſoever it be, it is unqueſtionable, that he who intends to give us a Hiſtory of our Time, cannnot in any wiſe pretend to give entire Satisfaction to theſe conceited Politicians. For how is it poſſible to imagine, that a private Perſon ſhould be able to diſcover the Secrets of the Cabinets of Princes, which Time only can bring to light? And ſuppoſing ſome of them were by chance come to his Knowledge, with what face could he publiſh them to the World? From whence it is evident, that all what is to be expected from an Hiſtorian, who writes the Hiſtory of our Time, is to give us as faithful

Re-

Relation as poſſible can be, of the Events of Things, and to repreſent them to the Reader in their due order and places, and to inſert their Cauſes as far as they came to his Knowledge. This is the whole Deſign of this Treatiſe, to wit, to repreſent to the Reader a true Idea of the Reign of our King, which may ſerve them as a Guide to their own Judgment, what Rank this Great Monarch deſerves to be placed in among thoſe Great Men, whom God has raiſed up from time to time, for the Felicity of the People, and the Glory of the Commonwealth. For theſe thirty Years laſt paſt, our King has been the Admiration of all *Europe*, even his Enemies not refuſing to pay due Praiſes to His Great Actions; aud theſe Powerful and unſucceſsful Leagues againſt *France*, are the moſt Glorious and undeniable Inſtances not only of his Strength, but alſo of his Merits and Great Qualifications.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF *LEWIS* the *GREAT.*

LIB. I.

LEWIS the XIIIth. had for a considerable time after his Marriage no Issue by *Ann* of *Austria* his spouse, till in the Year 1638, on the 5th day of *December* at eleven of the Clock, 22 Minutes before Noon, she was happily delivered of a Son. *His Birth.*

The Imperialists vanquish'd near Rhinefels, and the Spaniards at Sea.

With what an universal satisfaction this welcome News was received all over the Kingdom is easier to be imagined than expreſt. The rejoycings made upon this occasion, did in a great measure obliterate the glory of famous Victories, obtained about the same time by the *French* over their Enemies, the people of *France* looking upon them all at that juncture as scarce worth taking notice of, and of little consequence, in comparison of the advantages they promised themselves from the happy birth of a *Dauphin*.

The barrenness of the Queen, and the ill state of the King's health had given occasion to several Cabals and Factions; and no sooner was one head of this pernicious *Hydra* cut off, but another appeared in its stead, the divisions of the Great ones being risen to that pitch, as to threaten the ruine of the whole Kingdom, if, by the auspicious Birth of this Prince, these dreadful Clouds had not been dispersed.

Troubles during his Minority.

But the Death of *Lewis* the XIIIth which happened when the young Prince was but four Years and nine Months old, occasioned no small apprehensions of future troubles in the State; great discontents reigned among the Nobility; the Parliaments were exasperated by many provocations, and the People exhausted by heavy Impositions; all which, it was feared, would have broke out into an open Rebellion, during the young King's Minority.

Cardinal Julius Mazarin.

The Queen Regent being absolutely satisfied in the ability of the Cardinal *Mazarin*, had made him Chief Minister of State, to the great

great diſſatisfaction of ſuch of the Great ones, as propoſed to themſelves to fiſh in troubled Waters, and to find their account in fomenting Diviſions in the Kingdom; They alledged that the Cardinal being a Foreigner, they did not queſtion but that he would tread the footſteps of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and in this high ſtation revived the ſame haughty Maxims his Predeceſſor had made uſe of during his Miniſtry.

But this great Miniſter of State managed matters with ſo much dexterity, that by beſtowing ample favours, and larger promiſes upon thoſe of the diſcontented Party, he brought many of them over to his ſide, ſo that beyond all expectation, his Miniſtry was very quiet for the firſt five years, and the preſent condition of the Kingdom appear'd to be more flouriſhing at that time, than it had been for many Years before. The *French* gained 5 Victories by Land, and 2 at Sea; and beſides, they made themſelves Maſters of 10 or 12 places of no ſmall Importance.

Victories near Rocroy, *near* Rorewil, Friburg, Nortlingen, *and* Leantz. *Near* Cartagena, *and* Caſtellamara.

But this proſperity was of no long continuance. The exceſſive Ambition and Covetouſneſs, the Envy and Jealouſies which reigned among the Nobility; the pretended Zeal of ſome of the *French* Parliaments, encouraged by the Favour and Acclamations of the common People, which being inveigled with the hopes of an abatement of the heavy Taxes they groaned under, followed blindfold the inclinations of their Leaders. Add to this the want of Courage in the Chief Miniſter, which induced him to lay hold of that moſt deſtructive Maxim of State; *To prefer*

only such as he dreaded most; This fatal concourse of different Interests and Passions, proved the source of such divisions and intestine Commotions, as shook the very foundation of the *French* Monarchy.

Whilst the Kingdom was involved in these Troubles, the King's Education was in a manner neglected by those to who's Tuition it was committed, who made it their chiefest care to carry the young King from one Province to another, to shew him to his People, in hopes to restore, by this last effort, the decay'd and languishing Authority of the Government, and by his Royal Presence to keep them in Obedience.

Happy presages of his Youth. Notwithstanding all these Obstacles, the King began to give most evident proofs of his great and generous Inclinations; for when he was scarce twelve years of Age, such was his happy Genius, that there appeared a discretion and reservedness in all his Actions, much above what could be expected from so tender an Age, shewing not the least inclination to those things which are the ordinary diversions of Children, but an uncommon eagerness to be instructed in all manner of Exercises, and a singular delight in hearing the relations of great and memorable Exploits. These were the chief Entertainments of his Youth; and it was always observed, that if any thing happened to be related to him, that was either above the common rate in its undertaking, or surprising in its event, there appear'd such a sprightliness in his Eyes and whole Countenance, as sufficiently testified his desire of signalizing himself by some memorable Action.

Full

Full of this Noble *Idea* he waited with impatience for the time which might furnish him with an opportunity of giving real demonstrations of his great Inclinations; and he was not quite 14 years of Age, when knowing that his Army was ready to engage the Prince of *Conde*, he entreated and preſſed them ſo earneſtly, that to ſatisfie his moſt glorious deſire, they were obliged to place him on a certain Eminence where he could be a Spectator, at leaſt of a great part of the Engagement.

Is a Spectator of the Battle of St. Anthony, July 2, 1652.

The Prince of *Conde* had for the laſt ſix years paſt been the Hero and chief Supporter of the Royal Party; It was he that had gain'd the Battles of *Rocroy*, *Fribourg*, *Nortlingen*, and *Lentz*; And it was alſo the ſame Prince of *Conde*, who at the beginning of the inteſtine commotions was ſo fortunate, or rather dextrous, as to block up the City of *Paris* with 7 or 8000 Men.

Lewis *of* Bourbon, II *Prince of* Conde.

1649.

There was ſomething great and ſublime above the reſt of Mankind in this Prince: He was endowed with a Courage undaunted in the midſt of all Dangers; His skill in Martial affairs was beyond what can be imagined or expreſs'd. On the day of Battle nothing was comparable to his Conduct, either in chooſing the advantage of the Ground, or ordering and diſpoſing his Troops in order of Battle, or retiring and ſuſtaining them with freſh Forces; no body beyond him in puſhing on an Attack with the utmoſt Vigour, and in the heat of the Engagement to poſſeſs himſelf of an advantageous Poſt, and to change the diſpoſition of his Troops according to the va-

rious accidents and revolutions of the Battle; a happy conjunction of many extraordinary Qualities, if those great Souls, elevated above the common Sphere, were also capable of moderation. His aspiring Genius nourished by evil Counsels, prompted him to take up Arms against the King, and having assembled a Body of Troops, after several marches and counter-marches, he at last posted himself near St. *Cloue*, trusting to the nearness of the Bridge, which might serve him for a safe retreat, to avoid an engagement, in case he should be attack'd by his Enemies, who were superiour in number to him.

The two Marshals, *de Turenne*, and *de la Ferte* commanded two separate Bodies, who, to make sure work, intended to inclose him betwixt their two Armies, which the Prince having soon taken notice of, he broke up from St. *Cloue* with an intention to march to *Charenton*, and to entrench himself near that Bridge, where, by the nearness of the two Rivers *Seyne* and *Marne*, it would be impossible to force his Camp. The shortest way was to march thro' *Paris*, but fearing least his Army should be considerably diminish'd by desertion in his march thro' the City, or that the Citizens might deny him a Passage, he changed his resolution, and ordered his Troops to march round about as near the Suburbs as possibly could be. He marched with all possible speed and precaution, notwithstanding which, the Viscount of *Turenne* having got timely notice of it, followed him so closely, that after some hours march, he attack'd him in the Rear, and obliged him to come

Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, *Vicount of*

e n ne,

come to an Engagement. It was a hapy chance for the Prince to meet with ſome old Retrenchments formerly caſt up at the entrance of the Suburbs of St. *Anthony*, behind which he poſted his Troops to make head againſt the approaching Enemy. He had ſcarce had leiſure to put them in order of Battle, when the King's Army, animated by his Royal Preſence, attack'd his Entrenchments with incredible bravery. As the King was at that time not much above 13 years of Age, thoſe that were about him could not ſufficiently admire with what greatneſs of Courage, and without ſhewing the leaſt ſymptoms of fear he was an Eye-witneſs of the Engagement. It was the greateſt pleaſure in the World to obſerve the various changes in his Countenance, the effects of the different tranſports and motions of his Soul, ſometimes leaping for joy when he ſaw his Victorious Troops beat back thoſe of the Prince, ſometimes bluſhing, not ſo much for indignation as ſhame, when the Prince forced the Royaliſts to retreat. As in Civil Wars both parties are moſt incenſed with mutual animoſities, ſo the braveſt of both the Armies ſignalized themſelves by ſome remarkable Action or other, every one being prodigal of his Life to purchaſe Honour in this firſt encounter, and to ſnatch the Victory out of his Enemy's Hands, which thus remained uncertain for ſome time, till after a bloody Combat of two hours fortune declared for the King, whoſe Troops having made themſelves Maſters of the Entrenchments, marched in good Order thro' the great Street of the Suburbs without any oppoſition from

the Prince. But ſcarce had they advanced half way towards the City, when on a ſudden they ſaw the Prince again appear at the head of his braveſt Volunteers, and other choſen Troops, who charged them ſo vigorouſly, that they forced them to retreat, and to ſeek for ſhelter in the ſame Retrenchments from whence they had ſo lately forced their Enemies. This various chance of Fortune changed the whole face of the Battle, and it was very difficult to judge on which ſide Victory would encline, both parties fighting with an equal animoſity and bravery, till the Viſcount of *Turenne* being reinforced with ſome freſh Troops who had forced their way thro' ſome other Streets into the Suburbs, encloſed the Prince on all ſides, who muſt have been Sacrificed, with his whole Army to the fury of his Enemies, if the City of *Paris* had not opened its Gates for his Reception, and by the help of the great Artillery from the Baſtile, forced the King's Troops out of the Suburbs.

The Prince of *Conde* had upon many other occaſions given moſt ſignal proofs of his Valour and Conduct, but according to the judgment of the moſt expert Maſters of the Art of War, this day was accounted the moſt remarkable and moſt glorious of his Life, if it may be allowed that true Glory is to be acquired in bearing Arms againſt his Sovereign; it being unqueſtionable, that he appear'd and encounter'd his Enemies in all places where the danger was moſt preſſing, and that he ſhew'd as much Prudence and Conduct in his Command, as Vigour in the execution of them.

The

The Victorious Viſcount of *Turenne* himſelf ſeem'd to be envious of the extraordinary Conduct and Courage of his vanquiſh'd Enemies; and the King having received an exact relation of what had paſſed, could not forbear to ſpeak highly in praiſe of the Prince, and for 2 or 3 days after, his Valour was the only ſubject of his diſcourſe, an evident ſign that from his infancy he had a moſt paſſionate inclination for Glory, and a moſt fervent deſire of making himſelf remarkable by generous Actions.

He goes to the Camp.

This noble Fire daily encreaſing in his Soul, it was in vain for his Friends to repreſent to him, on one ſide, the fatigues which attend the Camp, and on the other ſide, the abſolute neceſſity there was to manage a health ſo precious as his, to the beſt advantage; all theſe arguments were not prevailing enough to keep him at home, but maugre all their perſwaſions to the contrary, he appear'd every Year in the Campaign at the head of his Armies, and there was ſcarce any memorable Siege in *Flanders* till the *Pyrenean* Peace, where he did not encourage his Troops by his Preſence.

It was obſervable, that whilſt he was in the Camp, he ſhow'd more gaiety in his Countenance and all his Actions, than he did in any other place. He uſed to riſe very early every Morning, expoſing himſelf to the injuries of all Seaſons. His Soldiers found him always in action, ſometimes in taking an account of the number and condition of his Souldiery, as well as of the poſture of the Enemy; to be ſhort, he took upon him the ſame

ſame care and trouble which might have been expected from the moſt watchful General, being never ſatisfied, unleſs he received a moſt exact account of every thing of moment, that belonged to the Camp. His preſence wrought marvellous effects among the *French* Soldiers, who being before in great diſorder for want of good Diſcipline, now encouraged by the good Example and Vigilancy of their Prince, began to improve every day, to the great ſatisfaction of the King; A convincing inſtance that when Subjects Love and Honour their Prince, his Example has more influence over them, than the moſt ſevere Laws and Chaſtiſements.

She was twice in France, in 1656, and 1657, and returned in 1658.

Theſe extraordinary Actions having acquired him the Eſteem and Admiration of all *Europe*, Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sueden*, who was at that time at the Court of *Rome*, undertook a journey into *France*, to be an Eye-witneſs whether Fame had not flattered this young Prince in thoſe matters that had been related concerning him abroad, ſo much to his advantage.

Her Father died in 1632, but ſhe did not Reign above 7 or 8 Years.

This Heroine, the only Daughter of *Guſtavus Adolphus* the Famous King of *Sueden*, who, in two Years time Conquer'd above 200 Leagues, and made himſelf by his Victorious Arms, the terror of his Enemies, as by his great Genius he purchaſed the eſteem, and was accounted the darling of his Friends. This Princeſs, I ſay, had ſway'd the Scepter for 7 or 8 Years with an extraordinary ſucceſs, being endowed with all the noble Qualities which are requiſite to make a Great Queen; ſhe had a moſt piercing Wit,

a Soul elevated above the common Rank, and a great ſhare of Courage. As ſhe was a great Patroneſs of Learning and all manner of Sciences, ſo ſhe had made her ſelf Miſtreſs of moſt Languages uſed in *Europe*, to that perfection, as to be able to entertain each Foreigner in his Native Tongue with a great deal of Eloquence. Theſe advantages joyn'd to the great ability of her Miniſters of State, gave her all imaginable hopes of being always belov'd by her People, of being feared by her Enemies, and eſteemed by all the World; ſo that ſhe ſeemed not to ſtand in need of any thing that could compleat her ſatisfaction; notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, ſhe choſe rather to maintain an eminent rank among the Learned of our Age, than among the greateſt Kings of *Europe*. It is the rareſt thing in the World, and perhaps without parallel in Hiſtory, to meet in a Perſon of her Sex ſo many excellencies, which the greateſt Princes have always been ambitious of, to render themſelves famous to Poſterity. Weary of Commanding, ſhe had quitted the Crown, not out of a fickle or froward humour, as it has been ſpread abroad by her Enemies, or becauſe the *Swediſh* Senate would have obliged her to Marry a Prince for whom ſhe had no inclination; but becauſe ſhe preferred her own liberty before the toils of a Crown, and that ſhe might not want the opportunity of taking a view of *Europe*, to receive the tribute of Praiſes and Admiration, which, as ſhe had all the reaſon in the World to believe, the more polite ſort of mankind would be ready to pay to ſuch extraordinary merits.

The Chancellour Oxenſtirn, *and Count Magnes* de la Garde.

After

She comes into France *to give the King a Visit.*

After her Abdication she travelled out of *Sueden* into *Flanders*, from thence into *Germany*, and so to *Rome*, from whence the great reputation of our young King had brought her into *France*, where she was received with all the imaginable demonstrations of Respect, the King thinking no Honour too great for so excellent a Princess. There was nothing to be seen at Court but Balls and Feasting, every one striving to out-vie the other in magnificence, in which, as well as in his Person, the King surpassed all the rest.

He was then betwixt nineteen and twenty Years of Age, large of Stature, his Mien and Physiognomy carrying along with it something extraordinary and great, with all the true marks of Honour and Vertue, there appearing in his Countenance a most agreeable mixture of Majesty and Sweetness. The first time the Queen of *Sueden* came in his Presence she had her Eyes fix'd upon him during the whole Interview; and she had so extraordinary an esteem ever after for his Person, that even after her return to *Rome*, she could not forbear to speak highly in his praise, and to declare to all that came to see her, that she thought her self amply rewarded for the trouble of her journey into *France*, by the sight of that Prince, and that his merits infinitely surpassed the reputation he had acquir'd abroad.

These loud acclamations from far distant Countries, were received in *France* with the more satisfaction, the more the King was belov'd by the People, who look'd upon these his noble Qualities, as so many pledges and happy

happy Preſages of the future proſperity of his Reign. But as the hopes of the whole Kingdom ſeem'd to be center'd in his Perſon, ſo all was fill'd with confuſion when ſoon after he fell ſo dangerouſly ill, as to be given over by his Phyſicians. *He falls ſick at* Calais, July 1, 1658.

After the taking of *Dunkirk*, which he enter'd in Triumph, he ſtay'd 5 or 6 days in the Fort of *Mardick*, which being a ſmall place, and at that time ſo full of Soldiers, that they wanted both convenient Lodgings and other Neceſſaries, moſt of them were ſick, which having cauſed an Infection, it was repreſented to the King, to what danger he expoſed his Perſon in thus tarrying ſo long in a place where he was ſurrounded on all ſides with ſick Soldiers; but notwithſtanding all theſe Remonſtrances, he would not retire from thence till he had given the neceſſary Orders, according to his firſt intention. From thence he went to *Calais*, where he had ſcarce been a few Hours, but he began to feel the direful effects of the contagious Air, which, as it was believed, he had taken at *Mardick*. June 25th 1658.

To be ſhort, he was ſeized with a moſt dangerous Feaver, which he ſtriving to conceal the firſt two days, he was on the fourth day judg'd to be paſt remedy. It is impoſſible to find Words ſuitable to the Grief that appear'd not only in the whole Court, but in the Countenance of the People; neither ought the Tears which were ſhed ſo plentifully upon this occaſion, to be looked upon as the effects of a feigned Zeal, as it often happens on ſuch like occaſions in ſome Countries, where the Subjects are forced to appear far different

different from what they are, and hide their ſatisfaction under the mask of a pretended grief; no, theſe were the true Interpreters of their Hearts, every one being in fear of loſing ſo good a King and Maſter. The Queen Mother who loved him moſt tenderly, and who ſaw her ſelf in danger of loſing her main ſupport, did not ſtir from his Bed ſide day or night. In the height of his illneſs he would ſeveral times endeavour to comfort her, but this tenderneſs of the Son only ſerved to make more lively impreſſions of ſorrow in the Mother.

Some at Court having heard much diſcourſe of a certain famous Phyſician then living at *Abbeville*, he was ſent for. After he had examined the King's Diſtemper, he told them, that in the condition he was at preſent, nothing but an Emetick could ſave his Life. The Word Emetick made them all tremble for fear, this Remedy in thoſe days being looked upon as new and not well approved of, and conſequently conſider'd as extreamly dangerous, which made it to be debated for a conſiderable time, whether it was fit to be given to the King or not, eſpecially ſince his Phyſicians, jealous of him that had preſcribed the Remedy, oppoſed it with all their might. But the King having abſolutely reſign'd himſelf to the diſpoſal of God Almighty, expected with an extraordinary compoſure of mind the iſſue of his Diſtemper, without the leaſt ſigns of being diſſatisfied with his deſtiny, which was likely to ſnatch him away in the very flower of his Age. Before he took the Vomit he order'd all the chief Men of his Court

Court to be admitted into his Bed-Chamber, where having with a compoſed and undaunted Countenance taking his laſt farewel of them, he asked for the Glaſs which contained the Emetick, and took off the whole Doſe at one Draught. After two Hours the Emetick began to work ſo ſucceſsfully, and to evacuate ſuch a quantity of the Morbifick matter, that there began to be ſome hopes of his recovery. And the King having taken another Doſe which performed its Operation with better ſucceſs than before, he was judged to be paſt danger, to the infinite ſatisfaction of the whole Kingdom; the rejoycings made upon this occaſion, being in all Reſpects anſwerable to the Affliction cauſed by his illneſs; for, beſides that the *French* have naturally a moſt profound veneration for their Kings, the generality of his Subjects had conceived ſuch an extraordinary eſteem of his noble Qualities, that it is impoſſible to expreſs the Affection they bore to his Perſon.

After his recovery it was judged adviſable to chuſe a Conſort; hitherto the Queen-Mother for ſome particular Reaſons would never conſent to his Marriage; but the whole Court having taken the Alarm at his late illneſs, it was reſolved on as a thing abſolutely neceſſary for the proſperity of the Realm.

The Queen, who was altogether in the Intereſt of her Family, had a great deſire that the King ſhould marry her Niece the *Infanta of Spain*, in hopes that a good Correſpondene and firm Union might be re-eſtabliſhed betwixt theſe two Crowns. The match was propoſed to *Don Antonio de Pimentel*, who paſs'd thro'

thro' *Paris* as he was going to *Madrid*, after his return from his Embaſſy in *Sueden*; but this propoſition met with much more difficulty on the *Spaniard's* ſide, than had been foreſeen by the Queen. For the *Infanta* being an Heireſs, the *Spaniards* feared not without Reaſon, that if her Father ſhould happen to die without Male iſſue, their Monarchy would be ſwallowed up in the *French*, and that all thoſe Kingdoms which compoſe the *Spaniſh* Empire, might, by this Marriage, in time, become Provinces of *France*. The reſt of *Europe* being poſſeſs'd with the ſame fear, leſt by the Union of theſe two moſt Potent Empires, they ſhould ſcarce be able to withſtand their joynt Forces; all the other Princes, by improving the jealouſie of the *Spaniards*, ſecretly employ'd all their Intereſt to thwart this Marriage.

The Queen, to remove all Obſtables, offered that the King ſhould Solemnly renounce the Succeſſion to *Spain*, but the *Spaniards* could not ſwallow the bait, being well ſatisfied, that it was in his power to Abſolve himſelf whenever he thought fit, of ſo unjuſt and forced a Renunciation; beſides that it was not in his power to diſpoſe of the Inheritance of ſuch Children as ſhould be begotten betwixt them; And laſtly, conſidering that Princes generally meaſure the Juſtice of their Pretentions by the length of the Sword, they look'd upon this precaution as frivolous and of no effect. Theſe conſiderations made the Succeſs of this Marriage very dubious, which hung thus in ſuſpence for two Years, till at laſt it began to be diſcourſed at Court, that the King

was

was to Marry the Princeſs of *Savoy*, whoſe Picture being preſented to him, he took ſuch liking to it; that he reſolv'd to take a journey to *Lyons*, to ſee her in Perſon.

The Queen was overjoy'd at this Journey, in hopes that her Brother would once more conſider of the matter, and when he found himſelf in danger of miſſing this opportunity, to ſhew henceforward as much inclination for the match as he had been oppoſite to it before. Neither did ſhe find her ſelf fruſtrated in her hopes, her wiſh being accompliſhed when ſhe expected it leaſt.

The *Spaniards* had during this War, which laſted four and twenty Years, ſuſtained great loſſes, they had been vanquiſhed in ſix Field Fights, and three Sea Engagements; beſides, that they had loſt above fifty places of note, and the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*; not to mention our Conqueſts in *Germany*, and thoſe of our Allies, together with the many Encounters, in moſt of which they had been miſerably beaten. By theſe ſo terrible and frequent misfortunes, the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was reduced to ſo low an ebb, that to recover its ſtrength, it ſtood in abſolute need of a Peace; and the People of *Spain* being quite exhauſted, cry'd aloud for it, and in terms ſo preſſing, that the Council of *Spain* being cured of its former Repugnancy, thought it moſt adviſable to ſend an Ambaſſador to offer the *Infanta* in Marriage to the King.

He Marries the Infanta Maria Thereſia, *Eldeſt Daughter, to* Philip IV. *King of* Spain.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that none of theſe Obſtacles which had hitherto retarded the Marriage, were remov'd; but, it ſeems, the preſent Exigency was judged more urgent than the dan-

ger that was to come; or perhaps, the *Spaniards* had raiſed theſe difficulties, only with an Intention to try, whether thereby they might obtain the better conditions of Peace. The Queen was ſo deſirous of this Match, that it was eaſie to read the ſatisfaction ſhe received by the Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Pimentel* with the Propoſitions, in her Face; the Articles were very near the ſame which had been propoſed by our Court, and every thing being thus agreed, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both Parties, it was judged convenient, that the Cardinal, and Don *Lewis de Haro*, the Chief Miniſters of State of both Crowns, ſhould have an interview upon the Frontiers, to put the finiſhing ſtroak to this great Work.

Interview of the French *and* Spaniſh *Courts.*

The Treaties being ſigned on both ſides, the *French* Court took a Progreſs to St. *John de Luz*, to meet the *Infanta*. The King her Father had conducted her thither in Perſon, partly to pay the more reſpect to our King, and partly to take this opportunity to ſee the Queen his Siſter. Nothing can be imagined more magnificent than this interview. Where-

June 6, 1660.

ever you turn'd your Eyes, there was nothing to be ſeen but the Pomp and Luſtre of Precious Stones, Gold, and Silver; every one there preſent ſtriving to out-do the other in richneſs and magnificent Apparel, with this remarkable difference, however, that the behaviour of the *Spaniards* appear'd far ſhort from what was to be obſerved in our Court.

The Politicians, who are not ſo ſoon dazled with the outward Luſtre of Things, which are only invented to blind the Eyes of the Common People, made certain Remarks at that

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that time, upon the appearance of these two Courts, from whence they drew certain Presages, and erected the Horoscope of both the Empires. Our King was then about one and twenty years of Age, of a vigorous Constitution, Active, Vigilant, all his Designs tending to Glorious Actions, whose principal care was, to be always engaged in Affairs of State; his Court was composed of Men of the first Rank, not inferiour to any in *Europe*, either at the head of an Army, or to manage the secrets of the Cabinet; besides which, there was among all these Princes and other Persons of Quality not one, but what made it his chief Ambition to serve him to the utmost of his Power, and to sacrifice his Life for the Glory of his King, and the welfare of his Country. This Noble Emulation was the happy fore-runner of all the brave Actions, performed afterwards under the Conduct of so great a King, the more because *France* being a Kingdom abounding in Riches and all other Things: Two Years Peace seem'd to be sufficient to repair its losses, and to make it more flourishing than before.

On the contrary, in the *Spanish* Court, there was not the same appearance of Prosperity, but only the slender remainders of a State, that once, when in its Splendour, had made so great a noise in the World. Their King was advanced in Years, minding nothing so much as his rest. Most of the Grandees had scarce been without the compass of the City of *Madrid*, and were so fond of their own Interests, as to look with a very indifferent Eye upon that of the Publick. His Trea-

fury was exhausted, and the Kingdom destitute both of good Troops, and expert Generals; at least they had very few who had acquir'd any great Reputation abroad, since the Prince of *Conde*, who by his Valour and Conduct, had, for seven or eight Years upheld the tottering Fortune of that Crown, was return'd to his Duty, and came into *France* with all those brave *French* Volunteers of his Party. Without calling to aid the assistance of the Stars, it was no very difficult task to foretel, in making a due comparison betwixt these two Crowns, that one in all likelihood, would lay the foundation of her greatness upon the ruins of the other.

At St. John de Luz, June 9th, 1660.

After the Marriage of the King with the *Infanta*, every thing was prepairing for our return to *Paris*. All along the Road she was received by the King's Order with all the demonstrations of Honour and Respect; but the Triumphs in the Provinces thro' which they passed, were only the fore-runners of what they were to see in the City of *Paris*, where every thing was prepar'd with an incredible Magnificence, for the reception of their new Queen, thereby to raise in her, at the beginning of her Reign, a high esteem of the Power and Riches of a Kingdom, which a Foreign War of thirty Years, and the Intestine broils of six Years, had not been able to drain of its Wealth. Since the first beginning of this Monarchy there never appear'd a more glorious day in *France*. The Streets thro' which they passed were covered with rich Tapestries, the Gates adorned with Greens and Flowers, the Windows and Balconies

The King and Queen make their Entry in Paris Aug. 26, 1660.

conies on both ſides with the fineſt Carpets; in the Squares and Market-places were erected Triumphal Arches beautified, with Statues and Paintings, not inferiour to what the old *Rome* could have produced, when at the higheſt pitch of its Glory. Beſides this, there was an incredible number of people flock'd hither from all parts of *Europe*, ranged on both ſides of the Streets, upon the Scaffolds that were built for that purpoſe before the Houſes, all which together made up ſo glorious a Show, as is eaſier to be imagined than deſcribed: All the Princes and other perſons of Quality had ſpared no coſt, not only in their own Apparrel, but alſo in their Equipages and Servants, to the higheſt degree of profuſion.

The Queen appear'd in a Chariot, the King with all the Lords of his Court on Horſeback, in an Equipage ſo magnificent, that nothing was ever ſeen or heard of which bore the leaſt compariſon to this glorious Cavalcade. It was computed that the Charges beſtowed on this occaſion by particular Perſons, amounted to ten Millions of Livres, every one ſtriving to raiſe his Fortune, by giving the King the moſt ample Proofs of their Zeal for his Honour and Service. They were at a great diſtance met by the Acclamations of the People, who wiſhed the King a long and proſperous Reign. As they paſſed thro' the Streets, the Eyes of all the Spectators were fix'd upon him, ſo that it might be truly ſaid, they had no Eyes but for him; and ſcarce had he paſs'd by in one place, but the People run round about to meet him again, and to ſee him as often as poſſibly they could. Others may boaſt what

they will of Honours, these Superficial Ceremonies cannot come in the least in competition with those hearty wishes and vows which the People sent after him as he passed thro' the City; it being certain, that every one had so a real esteem and affection for his Person, being prepossess'd with this opinion, That one day he would be one of the greatest Princes that ever mounted the *French* Throne. Neither was it long before they were sufficiently convinc'd, that they had not been unfortunate in their gues, when the King began to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, and to manage the State Affairs by his own Conduct, after the Death of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who did not survive the conclusion of the Peace longer than ten Months.

Cardinal Mazarin died March 9. 1661.

This great Minister of State died when he was risen to the Pinacle of his Glory; happy in that he had Triumph'd both over his own, and the Enemies of the State; and more happy still, in that he had forced the first to acknowledge his great Deserts, and the others to restore Peace to the Kingdom, in a manner as glorious to himself, as it was beneficial to the State.

A N

AN *ESSAY* UPON THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF *LEWIS* the *GREAT.*

LIB. II.

BY the Death of the Cardinal Things were left in ſuch confuſion, that, notwithſtanding the extraordinary *Idea* the people had conceived of the King's great Ability, they cou'd ſcarce imagine, that a Prince

The King takes the Adminiſtration of the Government into his own Hands.

Prince then hardly two and twenty years old, would venture to take upon himself so heavy a burthen, or if he did, it would scarce be possible for him to bear it; but they were soon convinc'd of their mistake; for the King, in four or five Years time setled the Government upon so firm a *Basis*, that for above these thirty Years past, he has govern'd the Kingdom in great Tranquility, without the assistance of a Chief Minister, has been Victorious over his Enemies, and restored Prosperity to the Kingdom; a convincing instance, that a Man may sometimes be Master of his own Fortune; at least, thus much is certain, that Fortune will not be of long continuance, if not upheld and managed by a dextrous Hand.

The first thing he did was to regulate his time, and to prescribe himself certain Rules and Maxims of State, gathered partly from the most famous Princes in former Ages, partly from the Advice of the most quick-sighted of his Council. He was so far from being check'd in his Glorious designs, by the fatigues that must needs attend the management of publick Affairs, that on the contrary, these served only for a better relish of the Enjoyment of his Pleasures: There was never a day but he imployed five or six Hours with his Ministers, who were to give him an exact account of every particular transaction that passed in the Government. He gave constantly once or twice a Week Audience to every Body, was present at all the Councils, and if any thing of great moment was to be debated there, he would retire into his Closet, to ruminate

minate ſo long upon the matter, till he had choſen what he judged moſt adviſable to be done.

But notwithſtanding his conſtant application to buſineſs, it is not to be imagined, that he renounced the enjoyment of his pleaſures: The heavier the burthen of publick Affairs laid upon his Shoulders, the more requiſite it was, to be relieved by ſome pleaſant intervals. The ſtrength both of our Spirit and Body is not inexhauſtible, but limitted within certain bounds, which if tranſgreſſed, leave us deſtitute and void of Vigour. At the beginning of his Reign there were always Rejoycings, Feaſtings, Balls, Carouſels, and Running at the Ring at Court; this young Prince taking an extraordinary delight to paſs his ſpare time in ſuch noble Exerciſes and Divertiſements, as have been always accounted to belong to Princes, to dazle the Eyes of the People who are extreamly taken with theſe Things, and commonly judge of the Power of the Prince, by theſe outward appearances of Grandeur. Never any Prince underſtood better how to manage this point to his own Advantage, and how to make the Luſre of the Throne appear more Glorious in the Eyes of the People. *His Divertiſements.*

It muſt be confeſs'd, that his Court has always been the publick School of Politeneſs and Magnificence, notwithſtanding which, as his chief delight has been all his life time, in managing his glorious Deſigns, in order to bring them to a happy iſſue, ſo his Divertiſements were never enticeing enough to him, to make him neglect the management of Publick Affairs;

Affairs: And, as young as he was, when he took the Adminſtration of the Government into his own Hands, he ſhew'd as much Eagerneſs and Aſſiduity, in Reforming the Diſorders that were crept into the Government, as he did for his Pleaſures. Happy Prince! who remains Maſter of his Pleaſures, who is not ſo intoxicated with his Diverſions, but that he can make uſe of, and leave them, whenever he pleaſes! He who makes himſelf a Slave to his Pleaſures, in lieu of enjoying thoſe honourable Recreations which were invented for the Relaxation of our Minds and Bodies, finds himſelf inſenſibly entangl'd by a Charm ſufficient to corrupt all his generous Inclinations.

He re-eſtabliſhes good Order in the Treaſury.

Among other Abuſes that were crept into the Government, the Miſ-management of the King's Revenues, as it was moſt likely to draw after it very fatal Conſequences, ſo it wanted a ſpeedy Redreſs; theſe being the Nerves of the State, which, if defective in their Function, the whole Body remains without Motion, and Vigour. There had been, for fifteen or ſixteen Years laſt paſt, prodigious Summs rais'd in the Kingdom; notwithſtanding which, the Government was over-charg'd with Debts, the People exhauſted with Taxes, the King's Revenues anticipated, there being but a ſlender Share left for his preſent Uſe: Beſides, that he ow'd to the Bankers above Thirty Millions of Livres.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that beſides the ordinary Charges, there had been an abſolute Neceſſity of keeping five Armies on foot at a time; and the Civil War requir'd more than ordinary

ordinary Charges, to ſatisfie the greedineſs of the Great ones, who for the greateſt part put their Services and Intereſts to ſale to thoſe that bid moſt. This was nevertheleſs not the Principal cauſe of theſe Diſorders; the true ſource of this evil was to be look'd for among the Managers and Farmers of the King's Revenues, who, keeping the reſt from the knowledge of the true value of them, Farmed them at half or a fourth part of what they were worth; beſides that, if they were to advance any Money before it was due, to ſupply the preſent Exigency of the State, they were ſure to make their own Market, at ſo dear a Rate, that it has been computed, that ſometimes out of a Million of Livres of the King's ordinary Revenue, there was not brought above two or three hundred thouſand into the Exchequer.

Theſe Extortions had been conſtantly practiſed againſt the King during his Minority, partly by the connivence of thoſe who had the management of it, and conſequently a ſhare in the Booty, partly by the preſſing neceſſity of the State, at a time, when ſtanding daily in need of the aſſiſtance of Monied Men, it was not judged ſeaſonable to dive too far into this Myſtery of iniquity, till after the Peace, when there might be ſufficient opportunity to remedy theſe abuſes. But the *Sur Intendant*, or Overſeer-General of the King's Revenues was more mindful of his own pleaſures than this truſt. Yet was not this the only cauſe of thoſe Diſaſters which befel him afterwards; there were ſeveral other matters of complaint, of the greateſt conſequence, exhibited againſt him,

him, which deſerved ſevere Puniſhment, for he had cauſed a Seat beloning to him to be Fortified, without having demanded or obtained leave for ſo doing; and by the profuſion of great Sums, made himſelf Friends, and enter'd into Cabals to avoid puniſhment. But the King being reſolv'd to ſtrike at the root of the Evil, cauſed him to be taken up and examined concerning ſuch matters as were alledged againſt him, whereof he was found guilty by his Judges. This bold ſtroke managed with ſo much Prudence, kept all the reſt in awe; the Cabal vaniſh'd inſenſibly, and notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums the *Sur Intendant* had beſtowed among the Great ones, there was not one that durſt appear in his behalf. A convincing inſtance, that a Confederacy founded barely upon intereſt, is ſoon diſſolved, when the Wheel of Fortune changes, and takes away the proſpect of future Advantages.

The King having reſtor'd Tranquility to the Kingdom, and being reſolv'd to introduce an abſolute Reformation in the Treaſury, choſe for the management of his Revenues, a Perſon well verſed in buſineſs of this nature, of an active Genius, exact in his Accounts, and a Man of an unſhaken Reſolution, to do Juſtice without Partiality, and immoveable to any thing that might in the leaſt turn to the diſadvantage of the State. The Perſon I ſpeak of, was *John Baptiſt Colbert*, afterwards Miniſter and Secretary of State, a Man of an extraordinary Head-piece, and who had ſuch an inſight into the management of publick Affairs, that he gave innumerable Proofs of

John Baptiſt Colbert Secretary of State, Controuller-General of the Exchequer, Chief Surveyor of the King's Buildings, and Manufactures.

of his great Capacity, whilſt he ſat at the Helm.

For, by the Conduct and indefatigable Care of this Miniſter, Matters ſoon appear'd with quite another Face in the King's Treaſury: The Revenues of the Crown were Let to Farm, according to their true Value, without any reſpect to Favour or Intereſt: The Salaries of the Officers were ſetled at a certain Rate: Inſtead of thoſe Officers, who, during the late Troubleſome Times, had abuſed their Commiſſions; and, under the pretext of their Titles, pillaged the Country, and enriched themſelves with the Spoils of the People, certain Commiſſioners were appointed, to manage all Affairs of moment. A Change ſo ſudden, and unexpected, appear'd like an Enchantment to the People, who were afraid that many Years could not redreſs an Evil which had taken ſo firm Root among the Courtiers; ſo that, by making due Reflections upon the Times paſt, and comparing them with the preſent State of Affairs, they fanſy'd themſelves to be tranſplanted into another Kingdom.

The King's Treaſury was, at once, ſtor'd with Money; and a juſt Account being made of the Extorſions and Frauds committed by the Managers of the Revenue, it was found, that, inſtead of the King's being indebted to the Bankers and Receivers, they ow'd him vaſt Sums. Their prodigious Riches, and moſt magnificent Palaces, which they had built in all Parts of *France*; the Richneſs of their Furnitures; the Extravagancy and Profuſeneſs which were daily to be ſeen in their Houſes, and at their Tables; not to ſpeak of many

many other Things, which being so many Monuments of their Pride and Luxury, appear'd as so many Witnesses against them, were, without question, more than sufficient to convict these People (born, for the most part, to no Fortune) of Extorsions and Depredations. But the King being resolv'd to proceed against them in a Legal Way, a Court of Justice was established by his Order, composed of certain Judges chosen out of the several *Parliaments* of *France*, who were to take Cognizance of all the Abuses committed in the Management of the King's Revenues; and to punish the Guilty, according to the Heinousness of their Crimes.

In December, 1661.

Whilst they were busie in putting their Commission in Execution, there happen'd an unforeseen Accident, which had been likely to have proved the Source of a most cruel War; the Matter in question being, not about the Possession of some Towns or Provinces, but how to defend the most antient Prerogative of the *French* Crown, attacked by the *Spaniards*, in its most sensible Part. The finest Flower belonging to the *French* Crown, is, the Precedency it enjoys above all the others: There is no Kingdom which surpasses it in Riches, Power, and Number of People; and, in making a due Comparison, it is evident, that the great Actions of all the other Kingdoms, join'd together, can scarce come in Competition with the glorious Exploits of the *French*. For these Thirteen Ages last past, since the first Foundation of this glorious Monarchy, the Sceptre has never been devolved or surrender'd into the Hands of any Stranger:

Precedency of the French *Crown.*

And

And ſuch have been the Exploits performed by the *French* Nation, in behalf of the True Religion, and maintaining the Liberty of *Europe*, that Time will never be able to blot out the Memory of ſuch glorious Actions, nor the Praiſe and Acknowledgment due to ſuch important Services. Who knows, but that all *Europe* might, at this Day, have groaned under the Yoke of the *Califfs* and *Mahometans*, if the Bravery of the *French* had not ſet Bounds to their Conquering Arms, and put a Stop to the *Moors* and *Mahometans*, who, like a violent Torrent, were over-running the beſt part of *Europe*, when *Charles Martel* put them to an entire Rout.

France has, at all Times, been the Sanctuary, and Place of Refuge for diſtreſſed Princes; but eſpecially for the Popes, who are beholden to the Liberality of *Pepin*, and *Charles the Great*, for all thoſe vaſt Poſſeſſions, of which they are Sovereigns, in *Italy*. It is to *France* that all the Weſtern Parts ſtand indebted, in reſpect of the moſt uſeful Arts and Sciences; which being bury'd under the Ruins of *Old Rome*, were revived by their Induſtry and Care.

Charles the Great *and* Francis *I. reviving* Learning *in* Europe.

Theſe, as well as many other glorious Actions, which have render'd this Kingdom one of the moſt famous in the World, were the true Motives which, Time out of Mind, had put this Crown in poſſeſſion of that glorious Prerogative of Precedency among other Kingdoms; which it enjoy'd, without the leaſt Oppoſition, for many Ages; there never appearing a Rival bold enough to diſpute the Rank with it, till, in the laſt Age, *Philip* II. then King of

The Croiſades, *and Conqueſt of* Conſtantinople.

The firſt Diſpute began in Venice, 1558.

of *Spain*, pretended to be its Competitor in this Prerogative.

Spain was, at that time, risen to the very Pinacle of its Glory; The *Spaniards* were in possession of One Third Part of *Europe*, besides the Immense Riches of the *New World*. It cannot be deny'd, but that their Power appear'd most formidable, in those Days, to all *Europe*; notwithstanding which, their Pretensions were look'd upon as unjust, and ill-grounded, in most *Christian* Courts; considering that *Spain* could not, in the least, come in Competition with *France*; both in respect of its Antiquity, or Dignity; and, that *Spain* had such vast Obligations to *France*, that it could not be otherwise than the highest piece of Ingratitude in the First, to pretend to incroach upon the Rights and Prerogatives of the Last. These Considerations were so prevailing, that *Philip* lost his Cause at *Venice*, at *Rome*, and in *Poland*: And where-ever the *Spanish* Ambassadors pretended to dispute the Precedency, it always turn'd to their own Disadvantage, and our Satisfaction and Glory. Notwithstanding they had met with so many Rubs upon this Account, they never let slip any Opportunity to renew their Pretensions; till, at last, our King oblig'd the King of *Spain* to make an express Renunciation of these Pretensions, occasion'd by a certain Rencounter which happen'd betwixt the Count *d'Estrades*, and the Baron *de Batteville*, Ambassadors of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, at the Publick Entry of the Count *de Brahe*, the *Swedish* Ambassador, in *London*.

Before 1017. *Castile was only an Earldom.*

The French *made* Henry, *instead of his Brother* Pieter *the* Cruel, *a King; from whom was descended that Princess who brought the Sceptre into the* Austrian *Family.*

At Venice, 1558.

At Rome, 1564.

In Poland, 1573.

The

The Count *de Brahe* was no ſooner arriv'd in *England*, but the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *Batteville*, caus'd it to be ſpread abroad, that, to ſhew all imaginable Reſpect to the *Suediſh* Ambaſſador, he intended to ſend his Coaches and Domeſticks, to attend him at his Publick Entry. The Count *d' Eſtrades* had got timely notice of the Matter; but conſidering that the Predeceſſor of the Count *de Batteville*, *Alfonſo de Cardenas*, a Perſon of extraordinary Merits and Underſtanding, had never made the leaſt Motion of this kind, during his Reſidence at the *Engliſh* Court, he look'd upon it only as a flying Rumour, or, at the moſt, as ſome *Rhodomontado* of the Domeſticks of the Count *de Batteville*; not imagining, in the leaſt, that it had been contriv'd on purpoſe, by the Ambaſſador, to be a Fore-runner of his intended Deſign: For which Reaſon, he ſent his Coaches and Attendants to meet the Ambaſſador, without any other Guard than his own Domeſticks, and without taking the leaſt Pre-caution againſt any Aſſault. *The Precedency diſputed by the Spaniards.*

But no ſooner did the Coaches of the *French* Ambaſſador appear at the Publick Entry, but they were ſurrounded by many Soldiers, and others, to the Number of 2000, headed by the Domeſticks of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who furiouſly fell upon the Count *d' Eſtrades* his Attendants: Theſe defended themſelves as well as they could, for ſome Time; but being over-power'd by the *Spaniſh* Party, were forced to leave the Ambaſſador's Coaches to the Mercy of their Enemies; who, having kill'd ſome of the Horſes, and, conſequently, prevented the Coaches from going farther, Tri- *Octob.* 10. 1661.

umphantly, and with their Swords in Hand, accompany'd the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador home. It was the moſt ridiculous Thing in the World, to ſee the *Spaniards*, as they paſs'd along the Streets, to make ſo many *Huzzah's*; there being ſcarce a Man of good Senſe there preſent, that could forbear laughing at the Vanity of theſe Imaginary Bravo's, who, by their extravagant Cries, and other Expreſſions of Joy, would have made the World believe, that they had triumph'd over *France*, and all its Forces; and had wreſted out of the Hands of the *French* the ſo long diſputed Precedency, by killing two or three Horſes, and as many of the Domeſticks of the Count *d' Eſtrades*.

But, as all the World ſtood amaz'd at the Vanity of this Enterprize, ſo the *French* ſtood in Expectation to ſee how this Action of the Count *Batteville* would be taken at the *Spaniſh* Court; eaſily imagining that this Bravado was not an Invention of his own, as being a Man of better Underſtanding, and too well vers'd in Affairs of this nature, than to ſignalize himſelf, without expreſs Orders from Court, by a Zeal ſo indiſcreet, as muſt needs expoſe the King, his Maſter, to this Nonplus, either to take a groſs Affront, in diſowning what his Miniſter had done, and to declare him to have been in the wrong, to conteſt with the *French* Ambaſſador, for the Precedency; or elſe, to ſee himſelf again entangl'd in a War, which, in all likelihood, muſt prove fatal to him, at a Time, when he knew himſelf to be in a worſe Condition than ever to ſuſtain it. On the other hand, the King of *Spain*'s Health,

He had been ſeveral times Ambaſſador, and Governour of St. Sebaſtian.

as

as well as the preſent State of the Kingdom, being in a declining Condition, exhauſted of Money, and deſtitute of good Forces, there ſeem'd to be no likelihood, that *Spain*, after the late concluſion of a Peace, ſo much deſired on their ſide, and ſo dearly bought, ſhould be ſo forward to break it, on the account of a punctilio of Precedency; eſpecially, ſince hitherto, the *Spaniards* had rather been enclined to ſurprize the *French* in this point, by ſome State-trick or other, or to try whether they could hector them out of their Right by threats; but never were come to ſuch extremities, even when engaged with one another in War, and when that Monarchy was arrived at the higheſt pitch of its greatneſs.

By Policy in Poland, 1573. *By threats at* Rome, 1564.

But howſoever it be, this ſeem'd to be the laſt effort the *Spaniards* intended to make towards their pretended Precedency; This Enterpriſe of the Count of *Batteville* having given ſufficient opportunity for all the World to be convinc'd, that as this undertaking of the *Spaniards* ſavour'd very much of Vanity, ſo the *French* had all the reaſon in the World on their ſide to maintain a juſt prerogative they enjoy'd for ſo many Ages.

The King of *France* had no ſooner received Intelligence of what had happened upon this occaſion in *London*, but he ſent immediate Orders to the Arch-biſhop of *Ambrun*, then his Ambaſſador in *Madrid*, to demand ſatisfaction for what was paſt, and in caſe of refuſal, to leave that Court and to return into *France*. It is a cuſtomary thing with the Council of *Spain*, to conclude upon nothing, even of the leaſt moment, without many tergiverſations

George de Aubuſſon *Archbiſhop of* Ambrun, *and Biſhop of* Metz.

and delays; whether it it be, that they look upon it as a Maxim of State, whereby to tire out thoſe that make their Applications to them, and conſequently to make them more pliable; or whether it be only a Cuſtom, proceeding more from their Natural Inclination, than any Myſtery of State, I will not pretend to determine: Thus much is certain, that as ſoon as the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* demanded ſatisfaction in the King his Maſter's Name, the King of *Spain* promiſed to make due reparation to the King of *France*, his Son-in-Law, and that he would recall the Count *de Batteville*, his Ambaſſador, out of *England*. This was a fair ſtep towards the demanded ſatisfaction, but not altogether ſufficient to repair the affront given upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion; the Chaſtiſement intended againſt the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, might give ſome ſatisfaction for what was paſſed, but did not remove the main Obſtacle; it being more than probable that the ſame quarrel might be ſoon revived, if the *Catholick* King perſiſted in his Pretenſions concerning the Precedency.

Moſt of the other Princes of *Europe* did underhand edge on the *Spaniſh* Court not to part with their pretended Prerogative, it being natural for Princes to be jealous of one another in ſo nice a point as this, which the *French* Kings had enjoyed time out of mind; or, becauſe they were not without apprehenſions, that, if a King ſo Young, Valiant, and Potent, ſhould gain a point of ſo vaſt a conſequence without oppoſition, it might in all likelihood be a ſufficient encouragement for him, to make farther Encroachments upon other

ther Princes bordering upon *France*. It was for this reaſon that two or three Months were elapſed, before the Council of *Spain* would take a final reſolution in the matter, there being not a few of them, who were of opinion, rather to hazard all, than to part with this Prerogative. But the difficulty was, by what means it was to be maintained againſt the King, without expoſing the Kingdom of *Spain* to utter deſtruction, ſo that at laſt it was found expedient for the King of *Spain* to engage his Word, that the Marquis *de la Fuenta*, nominated to go Ambaſſadour from that Court to *France*, ſhould, in his firſt Audience, give abſolute ſatisfaction to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, both in reſpect of what was paſſed, and for the time to come.

The King of Spain Renounces the Precedency, March 24, 1662.

To add to the Solemnity of this Audience, and to have a conſiderable number of Illuſtrious Witneſſes preſent, who might teſtifie to the World, what they had heard the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſay upon this occaſion, the King had invited all the Foreign Miniſters, who all appeared, to the number of thirty; they were placed on the right ſide of the Royal Throne, as were on the left the Princes of the Blood, the Miniſters of State, and other Officers of the Court. In the preſence of this Auguſt and Noble Aſſembly, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour told the King, *That the King of* Spain *his Maſter, had been extreamly diſſatisfied at what had happened in* London *on the* 10th *of* October, 1661. *That ſo ſoon as he had notice of it he recall'd the Baron* de Batteville, *with expreſs Orders to return forthwith into* Spain, *where he intended to give him ſuch ſevere Proofs*

of his diſpleaſure, as ſo extravagant an undertaking did deſerve: That he had ſent Orders to all his Ambaſſadors abroad, not to appear in any publick Ceremonies, where there might be the leaſt likelihood of conteſt on the account of this Precedency, and not to ſtand in competition for the future upon that ſcore, with the Ambaſſadours and other Miniſters of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

The four *French* Secretaries of State there preſent, ordered an Inſtrument in Writing to be drawn up, containing the ſame Words of this Declaration, to ſerve in time to come, as a laſting Monument to Poſterity, of the Glorious ſucceſs of ſo memorable a Tranſaction, which, for ſome time, had kept all *Europe* in ſuſpenſe, and for theſe hundred Years laſt paſt had made ſo much noiſe in the World, between the two moſt Potent Houſes of *Europe*, who being like the *Primum Mobile* of all the reſt, put an end to that famous Conteſt, which a moſt glorious Emulation had raiſed betwixt them.

Auguſt 20, 1662. Scarce was this difference compoſed, but there aroſe another betwixt the Pope and the King, occaſioned by an Aſſault made upon the Duke *de Crequi*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſadour at the Court of *Rome*. The Affront put upon the Ambaſſadour was ſo groſs, that the like has ſcarce ever been heard of among civiliz'd Nations, but it muſt alſo be confeſs'd, that the Hiſtory of all former Ages ſcarce can furniſh us with an Example, where the Law of Nations has been more glorioufly vindicated than upon this occaſion, and where thoſe who had impudence enough to violate it, have been more ſeverely chaſtiſed.

Two

Two or three unknown Perſons being purſued by ten Souldiers of the Pope's Guard, had ſought for ſhelter in the Stables belonging to the Palace of *Farneſe* where the ſaid *French* Ambaſſadour reſided at that time. Some of his Domeſticks being come out at the noiſe and claſhing of the Swords, had driven the Souldiers back, who being reinforced with ſome of their Comerades, in their turn beat the Ambaſſadour's Attendance, whom they purſued, and forced to retreat within the very Gates of the Palace. The Duke, in the mean while was come home thro' another Gate, having underſtood the occaſion of the tumult, ordered his Servants immediately to deſiſt, and to withdraw within the Palace. This precaution, which he ſuppoſed might be a fit means to appeaſe the Inſolence of the Soldiers, ſerved only to augment it; for, in a little while after, he ſaw them marching with Drums beating, and their Officers at the head of them towards the Palace, which they inveſted on all ſides, putting *Corps de Guards* on all the Avenues leading to it; and not contented with this, they committed other moſt enormous outrages, diſcharging their Fuſees charg'd with Ball, for an Hour together, at the Gates and Windows of the Palace, not ſparing even the Ambaſſadour's Perſon, who came out into a Balcony, to ſee what paſſed among them. He was no ſooner oblig'd to retire from thence, but they attack'd the Ambaſſadrice, who being ignorant of what had paſſed near her Palace, was returning home in her Coach. She was in no ſmall danger of Alexander VII.

having been assassinated by several Musquet Bullets that passed near her, but she had the good Fortune to escape without any other hurt than what was occasioned by the fright; one of her Pages being kill'd just by her Coach side, and one of the Footmen sorely wounded. At the same time the *Shirri's*, who never make use of Fire-Armes, followed closely the Footsteeps of the Soldiers, knocking down all the *French* Men they met with in the Streets of *Rome*; and in all likelihood this Tragedy would have ended in a General Massacre of the *French*, if the People of *Rome* had not testified their aversion to such barbarous Actions, and made loud exclamations against the Author, as well as the Executioners of this bloody Tragedy.

If the Government had not been concerned in this Action of the Souldiery, it had been but a piece both of Justice and Prudence to have given some publick and real Demonstrations of their dislike, by inflicting a prompt and most rigorous punishment upon these Insolent Offenders; but so far were they from calling them to a severe account, that they gave opportunity to the Ring-leaders, and such others as were known to have been most concerned in the slaughter of the *French*, to slip away, eight or nine days being passed before they made an enquiry after those Assassins. To heap injuries upon injuries, the *Cardinal Imperiale*, Governour of *Rome*, some time after block'd up a fresh the Palace of *Farnese*, under pretext, that it had been taken notice of, that the Ambassadour, ever since the last affront was offer'd, did appear abroad with

with a more numerous Attendance than he had been uſed to do before; ſo that the Duke ſeeing himſelf treated with ſo much Indignity, left *Rome*, and retired to a place belonging to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

The News of a thing ſo exterordinary being communicated to moſt Courts of *Europe*, there were very few who could perſwade themſelves, that the Court of *Rome* could be ſo much overſeen, as to come to thoſe extremities, without great provocation given on the Ambaſſadour's ſide. But all what could be laid to his Charge, amounted to no more, than that he had delay'd for ſome days to pay the firſt Viſit to ſome of the Pope's Kindred, who were not of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, the Duke being willing to receive firſt the King's Inſtructions, concerning a Punctilio which hitherto remained undecided. For the reſt, they pretended to have great cauſe of complaint againſt the Duke, who, as they alledged, peing of a haughty temper, had diſſuaded the King from allowiug yearly penſions to theſe new Princes: And this being queſtionleſs the main cauſe of their hatred, was alſo the true occaſion of the quarrel; for, it was eaſie to be perceived, that upon all occaſions, they ſhow'd much Indifferency not only to the Ambaſſadour, but alſo to the *French* Nation in general, which at laſt broke out into an open Enmity. For conſiderable time there had ſcarce paſs'd a day, but ſome ſparks of that devouring Fire, which lay couch'd under the Aſhes, did appear, which at laſt, broke out in a Flame, with the more noiſe and violence. The Offence, (if any had been

been given) was ſcarce worth taking notice of; but ſuppoſing it had been much greater, the Revenge appear'd ſo Cruel in the Eyes of all the World, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours uſed by the Pope to engage the Crown of *Spain* in the quarrel, neither that King, nor any other Prince, ſhew'd the leaſt Inclination to eſpouſe it, unleſs it were to diſpoſe the Pope to give abſolute ſatisfaction to the King.

Spain had indeed no reaſon to aſſiſt the Pope's Kindred, it was rather for the Intereſt of that Crown to clip a little their Wings, and to make them ſhew more reſpect to their more Potent Neighbours; beſides, it concerned them very nearly, to avoid all occaſions of drawing the *French* Arms into *Italy*. Another advantage which that Crown propoſed to its ſelf, by abandoning the Pope's Intereſt at this time, and conſequently to put him under a neceſſity of giving due ſatisfaction to the King, was, that they did not queſtion thereby to kindle an irreconcilable hatred betwixt them, which being continued in the Family of the *Chigi's*, would, in all probability prove as miſchievous to the *French* Intereſt, as it would be profitable to them in the next *Conclave*. It is true, they could not but look with a jealous Eye upon the Glory which the King was likely to reap from the ſaid ſatisfaction; but conſidering on the other Hand, that this augmentation of his Power would alſo ſerve for fuel to kindle jealouſie in the reſt of the Princes of *Europe*; the Council of *Spain* judged it moſt for their Intereſt to ſtand Neuter, and to endeavour, by all means, to perſwade

perſwade the Pope to put an end to the difference, without coming to an open rupture.

But Pope *Alexander* VII was Deaf to their Counſels. Before his Elevation to the Papal Dignity he had led a very Auſtere Life, ſhewing not the leaſt inclination for his Kindred, or any other Worldly Pleaſures, for which reaſon he uſed always to have a Coffin ſet in his Bed-Chamber, to put him in mind of Mortality; but being by his Elevation arrived to the higheſt pitch of his hopes, he appear'd quite different from what he had been before; he affected an extraordinary magnificence of his Apparrel, his Furnitures and Equipages were very ſumptuous, no body more nice and delicate in his Table than himſelf; and he ſhew'd ſo much tenderneſs for his Kindred, that he heap'd upon them prodigious Riches. So true it is, that when thoſe who have led an Auſtere Life, are once made ſenſible of the Pleaſures and Vanities of the World, they are ſure to make themſelves amends for what they have loſt before.

The falſe *Idea* the Pope had conceived of his own Power and Strength, the ſtrong Inclination he had for his Family, and the Antipathy he bore to *France*, made him reſolve at laſt, either to refuſe the demanded ſatisfaction to *France*, or at leaſt, to put it off by various delays, as long as poſſible could be done, in hopes that by ſome favourable juncture or other, the Face of Affairs might be changed in *Europe*.

It is unqueſtionable, that the King had all the reaſon in the World to be diſſatisfied with the Pope, and that he did not want means to do

do himself justice for the injuries received at his Hands; but being willing to shew a more than Filial respect to the Holy See, he suspended his just resentment for a whole twelve Month. For, if on one side, the consideration of so gross an affront provok'd him to Revenge; on the other Hand, the miseries and inconveniencies which attend a War to be waged in a far distant Country, against the common Father of the Faithful, kept his resolution in suspence. It is not to be denied, but that without reproach to himself, he could scarce delay his Vengeance, especially, since it might be done without the least danger to his Affairs; but it was also to be consider'd that as the danger was inconsiderable, so there was but little Honour to be gotten by the Victory. But being at last fuly convinc'd, that the Court of *Rome* took advantage from these delays to abuse his patience, he order'd his Troops to march to wards *Italy*, and having seized uyon *Avignon*, every thing was put in a readiness to pass the *Alps*.

It was then that the Pope thought it high time to open his Eyes, and that it was for his Interest to make a Virtue of Necessity, and to prefer an Inglorious Peace, before a War, which, in all human appearance, must prove very successful to him. His Kindred themselves perswaded him to take the surest measures, as judging it more for their Intrest, to turn the Mony raised by the Pope for the use of the War, their own use, than to render themselves Obnoxious, by making themselves instrumental in troubling the Peace of *Italy*, and to betray their Vanity to the World, in being

being ſo preſumptuous, as to meaſure their Power with the greateſt King of Chriſtendom. A Treaty therefore being agreed upon to be ſet on Foot at *Piſa*, (the King refuſing to accept of *Rome* for the place of Treaty) it was concluded ſoon after, upon the following Articles.

That the Pope ſhould be obliged to ſend the *Cardinal Patroon*, in Quality of his *Legat* into *France*, to diſown the whole Action of the *Corſick* Guards. *The Cardinal* Chigi.

That the *Legat* himſelf ſhould make his Proteſtation before the King, that neither he, nor any of his Family had had the leaſt Hand, in that attempt, and that for the time to come, they would be ready to give ample demonſtrations of their Real Submiſſion, and Fidelity to the King. *The Pope obliged to give ſatisfaction for the Affront put upon the* French *Ambaſſadour.*

That his Holineſs's Brother ſhould be obliged to make the ſame proteſtation in Writing, and to leave *Rome*, till ſuch time that the *Legat* had given the promiſed ſatisfaction to the King.

That the *Cardinal Imperiale* ſhould likewiſe come in Perſon into *France*, to juſtifie himſelf, and to ſubmit his Cauſe, if required, to the deciſion of the King.

That the whole *Corſick* Nation ſhould for the future be declar'd incapable of ſerving in the Eccleſiaſtical State; and to brand with everlaſting Infamy an Action ſo Inſolent, a Pyramid ſhould be erected, juſt oppoſite to the *Corps de Guard*, in which ſhould be Engraven the reaſon of their Baniſhment.

By Virtue of the ſame Treaty, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, beſides ſeveral other

Roman

Roman Lords that were in the *French* Interest, obtained considerable advantages, all which was to be attributed to the protection of the most Potent King in Christendom, who thus obliged the Pope to give him the most ample satisfaction that could be for the Affront put upon his Minister.

July 3, 1664. The Treaty was executed accordingly: The *Legat* came into *France*; the Pyramid was Erected, and remained standing for five Years 1667. after; when by the intercession of *Clement* IX, the Successor of Pope *Alexander* VII, the King was graciously pleased to order it to be broken down.

What could be more glorious at the very beginning of our King's Reign, than to come off Triumphantly upon two so extraordinary occasions, without as much as drawing a Sword? These were the marvellous effects of the King's growing Reputation, which encreasing more and more every day, had acquir'd a new Lustre, the Year before the conclusion of the Treaty of *Pisa*, by the possession of *Dunkirk*, which was bought with much less charge than in all probability it could have been taken.

After the taking of this place, we were, by Virtue of a Treaty concluded with *Oliver Cromwell*, obliged to surrender it into his Hands. It was a very unfortunate thing for us, to be forced to deliver the Key of our Kingdom into the Hands of such Strangers, as we were sensible would not fail to lay hold of all opportunities to trouble our repose. The King being sensible of this inconveniency, had no sooner taken the Reins of the Government

vernment into his own Hands, but he only watch'd for a favourable juncture, to ſend theſe dangerous Neighbours back to their Iſland, and to incorporate the ſaid place with the reſt of his Conqueſts.

Charles II. King of *England*, being lately re-eſtabliſhed in his Throne, this juncture ſeem'd to be the moſt favourable in the World, to treat with him about the Surrender of this place, at a time, when we were ſenſible that he was not in a condition to be at the charge of maintaining a Fleet in the Port of *Dunkirk*, or to provide the City with ſuch a Garriſon, as might be ſufficient to make a vigorous defence, in caſe of an Attack. Notwithſtanding which, the Negotiation advanced but ſlowly, or at leaſt, not ſo well as we could have wiſhed. This was occaſion'd partly by the jealouſie of our Neighbours, partly by the reluctancy which the King of *England* ſhew'd in parting with a place ſo advantageous, both for its Strength and Situation. For it ought to be conſider'd, that *Dunkirk* was at that time, not the ſame little paultry Town it was before the concluſion of the *Pyrenean* Peace, when it was taken and retaken without any oppoſition, it being ſince made one of the moſt conſiderable places in *Europe*, chiefly by the care of *Cromwell*, who had cauſed it to be ſtrongly Fortified, to ſerve upon an occaſion, as a ſafe retreat to him and his Party, or elſe, that the *Engliſh* might always be ſure of a Gate, by which to enter into the Heart of *France* at their own pleaſure. Beſides this, the *Spaniards* making more advantageous offers than the *French*, and the *Hollanders* ſtriving

ving to out-bid both, each Party having ſufficient reaſons to over-ballance one another: It was looked upon as one of the moſt refined pieces of Policy in the *French*, to have managed that grand Affair with ſo much dexterity, as to make themſelves Maſters of a place of that importance, at the price of four Millions of Livres, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of their jealous Neighbours. The King had no ſooner received the News that his Forces had taken poſſeſſion of it, but he went thither to give the neceſſary Orders for the accompliſhing the Fortifications of a place, which was of the higheſt conſequence for the ſafety of his Kingdom.

Dunkirk bought from the Engliſh.

Theſe ſeveral Affairs of the higheſt moment, tho' they took up much of the King's time, who ſpared no labour nor care, till they were brought to a happy iſſue; yet did this not ſo confine his Active Genius, but that at the ſame time he applied his thoughts towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the decay'd Military Diſcipline, and to find out ſuitable remedies againſt thoſe abuſes that were, by degrees, crept into the Government.

Before the Concluſion of the late Peace, all ſorts of licentiouſneſs had been practiſed among the Souldiers, with Impunity, and the neglect of the due obſervance of Military Diſcipline, had introduc'd ſuch diſorders both among the Officers and Souldiers, that in all likelihood, it muſt have in time proved fatal, not only to many private Perſons, who extreamly ſuffer'd under theſe violences, but alſo dangerous to the State, if the King had not put a ſtop to theſe enormities.

Lewis XIV Re-eſtabliſhes the Military Diſcipline.

As

As he was ſufficiently accquainted with the Natural Inclinations of Mankind, to know that the moſt Valiant Men in the World, if not confin'd under certain Rules and Diſcipline, muſt be more hurtful than profitable to the State, ſo he took a firm reſolution to re-eſtabliſh among them ſuch Laws, as founded upon a Prudent ſeverity, ſhould be ſufficient to keep them within their due bounds. As he took effectual care that his Souldiers, whether in ſickneſs or health, ſhould be provided with all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, ſo he would not allow any one to be exempted from the exact obſervation of theſe Rules; and all the Employments in the Army from the higheſt to the loweſt, being beſtowed upon ſuch as had deſerved well, in proportion to their Merits, there was a ſtrange alteration to be obſerved in the Army. For, the deſire of Glory, the Honour to pleaſe the King, the fear of Puniſhment, and the hopes of Reward; this happy mixture, I ſay, of ſeveral Intereſts and Paſſions, made ſuch powerful impreſſions upon the minds of the Souldiery, that every one in his Station, ſtrove as much to out-do the other, in the juſt obſervance of his Duty, as they formerly had been eager after Rapines, and negligent in performing their Military Functions. Thus a good Order being re-eſtabliſhed in the Army, it may be ſaid without boaſting, that poſſibly, there ſcarce ever appear'd better diſciplin'd Troops in the Field, than the *French* Armies under the Reign of the preſent King.

After the concluſion of the *Pyrenean* Peace, the greateſt part of the *French* Forces were

disbanded; nevertheleſs, as thoſe that were kept in pay, were all choſen Men, ſo the King took care to augment them from time to time, not only to ſerve in his Garriſons, but alſo to have in readineſs ſuch a number of well Diſciplin'd Troops, as he judg'd ſufficient to maintain his reſpect, both among his Subjects and Neighbours. For, what real aſſurance can a Prince have of the Fidelity of the one, and of the ſincerity of the others, unleſs he be in a condition to maintain his Authority by his Power?

The better to train up his Soldiers to the Wars, he order'd every Year Encampments to be made in ſome place or other, where they perform'd all the Exerciſes belonging either to Sieges or Battles, without Blood-ſhed. This was look'd upon as of ſo much conſequence, that even in the moſt peaceable times it was never diſcontinued, after they had once been convinced of its uſefulneſs; it being agreed on all Hands, that not any thing elſe contributed ſo much to the inuring the Soldiery to the Fatigues of Wars, and conſequently, to the obtaining ſo many Victories in the following Years, as theſe Engagements, Reviews, and Exerciſes, which kept the Armies under a conſtant good Diſcipline, and trained up the young Officers as well as the Soldiers, to ſerve their Apprenticeſhip at home in the Action of War.

Michael le Tellier *Chancellor of* France, *had two Sons*, Michael Francis *Marquis of* Louvois, *Secretary of State*; *and* Charles Maurice *Archbiſhop and Duke of* Rheims, *Counſellor of State, and Superviſor of the* Sorbonne.

Michael Francis le Tellier, Marquis of *Louvois*, Miniſter and Secretary of State, was the

Perſon,

Perſon, whom *France*, next to the King, ſtands indebted to, for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Military Diſcipline, and a good Order in the Army. It is unqueſtionable, that never any Man living had a better inſight into all Martial Affairs, whether in the moſt exquiſite advantages belonging to Fortifications, or in regard to the raiſing and maintaining a great Army in the Field. He was a Perſon of a marvellous Activity and Vigilance; as Firm, Reſolute, and Bold in his Enterpriſes, as Fortunate in the Succeſs; and to be ſhort, never any Miniſter deſerved better at the ſame time, both of his Prince and the State. He was Eldeſt Son to *Michael de Tellier* Miniſter and Secretary of State, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of *France*, who render'd himſelf Famous by his Prudence, Fidelity, and great Services under the King's Minority.

Neither did the King ſhew leſs eagerneſs for ſettling the Adminiſtration of Juſtice: He would give moſt particular marks of his Favour and Eſteem to ſuch of the Judges as he knew to be proof againſt Corruption, crowning their Virtues with Praiſes and Rewards; as, on the other Hand he deſpiſed thoſe, who, having purchaſed their Places at an exceſſive rate, made uſe of their Power to ſatisfie their Avarice and Pride; theſe were ſure to meet with deſerved puniſhment from his Hands, and to receive the rewards of their Treachery, in making the Royal Authority a Cloak, wherewithal to cover their unjuſt Proceedings. To baniſh for ever from among his Subjects all vexatious Suits, or at leaſt, to retrench the extravagancy of litigious Perſons,

and superfluities in the Law, which serve only to create and protract Suits, he caused a new *Codex*, or Law-Book to be compiled, by the Advice of the most understanding Lawyers in the Kingdom; and as he was not ignorant, that the best Laws are useless, or at least, of little effect, unless those who are to put them in execution, be careful in the observance of their duty; so he would frequently take an account of their Transactions, and be always putting the Chancellor in mind, to keep a strict Hand, and a watchful Eye over the Judges and Magistrates, that they might not be remiss in their Duties to Administer Justice, without partiality, and to punish the Transgressors, without respect of Persons, especially in what related to the maintaining of the publick Tranquillity.

After the Death of the Chancellor Seguier.

To encourage the rest by his own Example, he kept the Great Seal in his own Hands near three Months; and tho' he would sometimes Pardon such Trespasses as proceeded rather from passion or misfortune, than any ill design, he never spared those who were found guilty of disturbing the publick Tranquility; and above all, prosecuted with the utmost severity, all such as were convicted of Dueling; for it having been judged absolutely necessary for the publick safety, that all manner of Duels should be forbidden under pain of Death by the King, he look'd upon any Act of Grace in this kind, as prejudicial to the Royal Authority, and an unseasonable lenity, as derogatory from the respect due to the Law, which made him take a firm resolution to maintain its Force, by inflicting severe punishments upon the Transgressors. Nei-

Neither was it long, before the happy effects of the King's firm Resolution and Zeal for the impartial distribution of Justice appear'd to the Eyes of all the World, his Subjects being thereby insensibly brought into a habit of doing well, and performing their Duty in their several stations. Hence it was, that every one enjoy'd the benefit of a Sweet and Charming Tranquillity under the protection of the Laws, free from all fear, and the avarice of corrupted Judges, and the oppressions of the Great ones, who, if they offered any Violences, were sure to come to Condign Punishment. The surest way to prevent Factions in a Kingdom, is certainly when the Prince by his Authority, keeps all the several Orders that compose it within their bounds; for, the People being thereby engaged to respect no other Authority so much as his own, this removes all occasion and danger of Revolts.

The King gives Encouragement to all manner of Arts.

What shall I say as to the most useful Arts and Sciences, which, without contradiction, flourish'd more than ever, under a Prince, who, as he had a true relish of Things, so it was his greatest delight to heap Riches and Honours upon Persons of extraordinary merits; knowing, that nothing turns more to the Honour of the Prince, and benefit of the State, than to give due encouragement to liberal Arts, he drew by his great Liberality into *France*, the most Excellent in all Professions from all parts of *Europe*; with these Foreigners as well as Natives, he fill'd up the several Academies, erected by his Order, for the improvement of all manner of Sciences; of

Painting, Carving, Architecture, and Muſick, where theſe Great Maſters and their Scholars ſtrove by a Praiſe-worthy Emulation, to outvie one another, and in their ſeveral Stations, to bring their Pieces to the heighth of perfection.

The King, to improve the Talent of ſo many Excellent Maſters, employed them in making thoſe rich Furnitures and other pieces, the like of which are not to be met with in any other part, whether for the deſign, or the curioſity of the Workmanſhip; he erected Noble Structures in ſeveral parts, but eſpecially made uſe of their skill in the *Louvre*, the Front of which is accounted one of the fineſt pieces of Architecture in the World.

The Subjects encouraged by the Example of their Prince, began every where to apply themſelves to Building, eſpecially in the City of *Paris*, which encreaſed every day by the Additions of many goodly Structures; ſo that in a few Years the Streets of the City of *Paris* were made broader than before; the Croſs-ways were adorned with noble Fountains, the Channels and River ſide faced with Free-ſtone; and there was not a Street ſo mean, but there were to be ſeen ſome neat Houſes, built after a manner far different from what they had appear'd before. Vaſt numbers of Strangers, and other curious Perſons came flocking from all parts, to partake of the charming Enjoyments of Peace and Tranquillity in a City, where there was great plenty of every thing requiſite for the pleaſure and neceſſity of Human Life, even at the time of a general ſcarcity, the King having by his own liberality

and

and care, ſupply'd their want, and reduced the price of all Things to a reaſonable rate.

But the City of *Paris* was not the only place that enjoy'd the benefits of his happy Reign; the other Provinces of *France* had alſo their ſhare in the publick Felicity, the King, by affording all imaginable encouragement to Commerce, made the whole Country overflow with Riches. It is beyond all queſtion, that the *French* could not be ignorant what prodigious advantages muſt needs accrue by Commerce, to ſuch a Country as *France*, which being water'd both by the Ocean and Mediterranean, and irrigated by ſo many fair Rivers, ſeems to be the moſt conveniently ſituated for Traffick of any in *Europe*; notwithſtanding which, it was obſervable, that all manner of Commerce had been neglected for a conſiderable time; either becauſe the Genius of the *French* Nation is more enclinable to Warlike Exploits than Traffick, or becauſe the Civil and Foreign Wars, in which the Kingdom had been entangl'd for ſo many Years together, had robed them of theſe advantages. But the King was not ſparing in any thing, which he believed might contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of Trade; in the Sea-Ports he made conſiderable abatements in his Cuſtoms; moſt of thoſe that were paid in the Rivers he took off; he gave all imaginable encouragement to the Manufacturies of the Kingdom; he, at his own proper coſt and charge, employ'd a great number of Workmen to joyn the two Seas by a Canal, as well as ſeveral Great Rivers, and to render many leſſer Rivers Navigable; he eſtabliſhed a cer-

He cauſed Wheat to be diſtributed at the Louvre, 1662.

tain Council of Commerce, to be held in his Presence, by whose Advice he created several Companies, who trafficking in all parts of the World, render'd the Great Name of their Prince Glorious in far distant Countries. Besides, that he granted them many Privileges, they were provided both with Money and Ships by the King, to carry on the design, and never wanted necessary Convoys to conduct them safely to the place whither they were bound.

The enterprise against Gigery, July 19, 1664.

It was upon the score of Commerce that an Expedition was undertaken against the Coast of *Barbary*, it being certain, that it was not out of a motive of extending his Conquests the King sent thither his Forces, but chiefly for the conveniency of a Harbour, from whence to annoy and bridle those Insolent Pyrates, that are continually disturbing the Trade on those Coasts. The success was at first answerable to the design, they having made themselves Masters of *Gigery*, and, notwithstanding, they were ill provided with Provision and Ammunition, maintain'd themselves in the place three whole Months. But the number of the Enemies encreasing daily, and the Plague and Famine which at that time, made great havock on the Coast of *Provence* having retarded the Convoys designed for their succour, they were at last forced to abandon the place, and to return into *France*. This Expedition proved thus unfortunate in the end, having been undertaken not without great charges, besides, that we lost some of our best Troops, and received some disgrace.

October 31, 1664.

But

But this misfortune was abundantly recompenſed by the Honour the *French* had acquir'd two or three Months before.

The *Turks* and *Tartars* having made a moſt powerful Eruption in *Hungary*, and the *German* Emperour *Leopold* I. demanding Succours from our King, he ſent him ſix thouſand choſen Men. Theſe Troops had ſignaliz'd themſelves in many Encounters, but more particularly in the Battle fought near St. *Goddard*. *The King ſent ſuccours to the Emperor.*

Seven or eight thouſand of the braveſt among the Infidels having paſs'd, unperceiv'd by the *Chriſtians*, a River which parted both their Camps, charged the right Wing of the laſt with ſuch incredible fury that they made them give way, without much oppoſition. In all human appearance the whole Chriſtian Army muſt have been put to an entire rout, if the *French*, who were in the left Wing, had not come up very opportunely with the *Turks*, and like lightning charged thro' them with ſo much bravery, that they put them in confuſion, and made ſuch a ſlaughter among them, that five or ſix thouſand remained dead upon the ſpot. To be ſhort, the Victory was compleat; they brought off a great many Standards and Colours, and ſixteen pieces of Cannon, moſt of the abovementioned *Turks* being either ſlain or drown'd in the River. Thoſe few that eſcaped by flight put the whole *Turkiſh* Camp into ſuch a conſternation, that the *Grand Viſier*, notwithſtanding he had yet remaining with him an Army of above forty thouſand Men, in few days after, concluded a Truce with the *Imperialiſts*.

As

The King's protection of the Dutch against the Bishop of Munster, 1665.

As the *French* succors had been of great consequence to the Emperor, so the protection which the King was pleased to afford to the *Hollanders* stood them in no less stead, against *Bernard Van Galen*, then Bishop of *Munster*, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, better qualifi'd for a General than a Prelate.

For the King of *England* having declar'd War against them, had at the same time stir'd up the Bishop, who being a troublesome Neighbour to the *Dutch*, never wanted pretensions, but only an opportunity to quarrel with them, being a Man aspiring and bold to undertake any thing, and at that time when he was so well provided with good Forces and other things requisite for such an undertaking. The *Hollanders* had all the reason in the World to be surprized at this unexpected rupture, as having liv'd for five Years in perfect Tranquility, and consequently disbanded their Troops, except such as serv'd in Garrisons on their Frontier-places. The Bishop taking advantage from the ill State of their Troops, made an irruption into their Territories, and overrun entirely one of their Provinces, where he made himself Master of their Cities, and ravaged the Country where-ever he came, which struck such a consternation into the adjacent Provinces, that it was feared, they would scarce have Courage enough to resist his Victorious Arms. In this perplexity, having made their Addresses to our King, he order'd six thousand Foot and two thousand Horse instantly to march to their relief. Hitherto nothing had been able to put a stop to the Current of the Conquests of the Bishop, but the terrour

terrour of the Force of *France* had such a Powerful influence over him, that he began to abate immediately of his fierceness, and in less than three Months time, matters were brought to a composition, by Virtue of which, he was obliged to disband his Troops, to Surrender to the States all that he had taken, and restore to them their former Tranquillity.

The Dutch protected against the English, 1666.

The *Hollanders* being by the Treaty of *Cleves* delivered from the fear of this troublesome Enemy, they now apply'd themselves with all their might, to the prosecution of the War against the *English*. The States-General had, at the first beginning of the War, sollicited the King for succours against the *English*, or at least, his Mediation for the composing of the differences betwixt them. The King at their request sent a Solemn Embassy to *London* to offer his Mediation, which being accepted of by the King of *England*, the Conferences were began in *London*. But King *Charles* II. having happily suppress'd some tumultuous Assemblies of the Fanatick Party, which hitherto had kept matters in suspense, without expecting the issue of this Negotiation, order'd his Fleet to put out to Sea in quest of the *Dutch*, even in their Ports. Our King having all the reason in the World to be dissatisfied with the King of *England*, enter'd into to a League offensive with the States-General.

Thus the War being kindled, it broke out into so violent a Flame, that for two Summers successively, the Seas betwixt the *English* and *Flanders* Coast, seem'd to be all on Fire, there being nothing to be heard of but slaughter, 1665, 1666.

and

and the thundering of Cannons. In these several most bloody Engagements, neither party could boast of any real advantage over the other, the Victory inclining one time on one, and at another on the other side; both parties at the same time claiming the Honour of the Victory, and dissembling their losses. The *Hollanders*, notwithstanding they much flatter'd themselves with the Honour they believed to have gain'd against their Enemies, yet were very desirous of Peace, these Demi-triumphs, and the loss of so many brave Seamen being but a slender recompence for the damage they receiv'd in the interruption of their Commerce. The *English* irritated more by shame than the consideration of their losses, left no Stone unturn'd to break this Alliance, and to draw our King from the *Dutch* Interest; but in vain, for the King protesting he would not abandon his Allies, a Peace was soon after concluded at *Breda*, which was very advantageous to the States.

July 31, 1667.

About two Months before the conclusion of this Treaty, the King was enter'd *Flanders* with a considerable Force, to do himself Justice on the just Pretensions of the Queen: Her right was so unquestionable on the Dutchy of *Brabant* and its Dependencies, upon part of *Gueldres*, upon *Luxemburgh*, the *Franche Comté*, *Mons*, *Antwerp*, *Cambray*, *Malines*, *Limbourg*, *Namur*, and some other places on the *Meuse*, that the King having taken the Advice of the most Famous Lawyers of the Low-Countries, upon the point in question, under borrow'd Names, they were unanimously of opinion, that her Right was indisputable.

putable. According to the Cuſtom of theſe Provinces, it is an Eſtabliſh'd Law, that the Children begotten in the firſt Marriage become Heirs to the Poſſeſſions of their Parents, immediately after the Deceaſe of one of them, the Survivor enjoying only the benefit of them during Life.

Philip IV. King of *Spain* had by *Iſabella* his firſt Spouſe, only two Children, to wit, one Son, and one Daughter, ſince Queen of *France*, who ſurviving the Prince, theſe Provinces by right of Succeſſion, purſuant to the Cuſtom of the Country, which regulates as well the right of Succeſſion in reſpect to Soveraigns, as private Perſons, were devolved to her. *Prince* Balthaſar.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that, at the time of her Marriage, they had taken this precaution, to make her renounce all her Rights and Pretenſions to thoſe Provinces; but beſides, the Act it ſelf was ſo defective in Form, and full of Nullities, that according to the judgment of the moſt underſtanding and unbyaſs'd Perſons, it could not paſs for a Legal Act.

She renounces all her Rights and Pretenſions, without naming any in particular. She therefore reſign'd that which ſhe knew not, and what ſhe had not had the opportunity to examine, of what moment it was ſhe was going to do, and this when ſhe was under Age, rather out of a Motive of Obedience, than free Choice. Add to this the Authority of a Father and King, the want of Experience and Knowledge of her own Intereſt, the Paſſion ſhe had for the King's Perſon, and the proſpect of having for her Spouſe, one of the handſomeſt and greateſt Princes of *Europe*:

rope; All these, if taken together, what wonder is it, if the *Infanta* had not constancy enough to refuse the Request of the King her Father, and blindly to follow his Dictates.

Thus they had made her renounce to the Succession of the Empire of the *Indies*, of the Kingdoms of *Castile*, and *Arragon*, of *Sicily*, and *Naples*, *Sardinia*, and *Majorca*, to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Sovereignty of nine Provinces in the Low Countries; I say to the hopes, forasmuch as her Brother was alive, but so infirm, that it was supposed he could not live very long.

Charles II. King of Spain.

Golden Crown 8 s. 6 d. Sterl.

Another consideration, which is of no slight moment, is, that this Renunciation was made without allowing her any other equivalent, except five hundred thousand Golden Crown pieces, which indeed, was owing to her before on the account of her Mothers Dowry. Could any thing be more injuriously contrived than this? Another thing that makes this void and of no effect is, that this Equivalent (supposing it should be term'd so) was never paid to her, neither in her Father's life time, nor after his Death; nay, there was no tender made of it within the time limited in the Act; without which, it plainly appears, that the Queen did not make this Renunciation, but in consideration of the said summ, to be paid at the terms, mentioned in the Contract. Who is so ignorant as not to understand, that in all conditional Contracts their validity depends on the accomplishment of the Conditions therein contained?

Another

Another Capital defect in this Act is, that it was not corroborated by these circumstances, which in a case of that moment, are prescribed by the Laws. As the order of Succession ought to be considered as one of the fundamental Laws of an Empire or Kingdom, so the same is unalterable, unless by consent of the People Assembled for that purpose. The Queen being, after her Brother's Death, the unquestionable and immediate Heiress to the Crown of *Spain*, his most Catholick Majesty, when he intended to deprive and exclude this Princess of her Legal Inheritance, ought to have call'd together an Assembly of all the States of the whole Kingdom, and the Queen in their Presence ought to have made a publick Renunciation, both for her self and Children, to the Succession of all these Dominions; after which, the said Renunciation must have been Published throughout all the Territories under the Jurisdiction of *Spain*. But it being certain, that not the least of all these circumstances had been observed in this Act, it cannot be considered as a Legal Transaction, but as surreptitious and forced upon the Queen without her knowledge. It ought to be look'd upon as a meer State-trick and contrivance of the *Spaniards*, to serve their own turn and ambitious designs, which being contrary to all Laws, could not in the least impair the Legal Right of the Queen, or of the Prince her Son.

Notwithstanding the King had thus all the reason in the World, neither wanted sufficient power to oblige the *Spaniards* to a full satisfaction, he nevertheless offer'd to come with

with them to a Compoſition. The Queen-Mother made uſe of all her Intereſt to prevail with the *Spaniards*, either to give ſatisfaction to the King upon his demands, or elſe to accept of the King's Gracious offer, to take an Equivalent, and to releaſe part of his Right, provided they would put him in quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt. But all her endeavours proved fruitleſs, the Queen dying before ſhe could bring it to a concluſion. She was univerſally lamented by the whole Kingdom, and that not without great reaſon; *France* having not for many Years before been bleſſed with a Queen more deſerving than her ſelf. She was of a very noble aſpect, but endowed with a much more noble Soul, a Soul truly great; and elevated above the common rank, Pious, Obliging, and Honourable, whoſe greateſt pleaſure was to doe good, and who by her charming converſation, drew both Love and Reſpect from all who had the Honour to know her.

The Queen-Mother Anna *of* Auſtria *dies* Jan. 20. 1666.

After the Deceaſe of the Queen, our King renewed his former demands at the Court of *Madrid*, and as the caſe then ſtood with *Spain*, there were very few, who balancing their Forces with ours at that time, were not of opinion, that, if it ſhould come to a rupture, the *Spaniards* might think themſelves happy, if they could come off with the loſs of what they were ſo much afraid to loſe. For their Troops in *Flanders* were in a very ill condition, their Fortifications had been neglected, and were neither provided with Ammunition, nor a ſufficient number of good Troops. The Council of *Spain* could not be ignorant of all

all this, but whether it were that they rely'd upon the assistance of their Allies, or that they did not rightly measure the King's strength and resolution, certain it is, that he could never obtain any satisfaction as to his just Right, no not as much as a promise of ever obtaining any upon that score; so that after a fruitless Treaty of eighteen or twenty Months, our King was obliged to have recourse to Arms. He marched therefore in Person, at the head of an Army of thirty five thousand Men, commanded under him by the Viscount *Turenne*, into *Flanders*. At the same time he ordered two Flying Camps, the one to enter the County of *Luxemburgh*, under the Command of *Francis de Crequy*, Marshal of *France*, to observe the motions of the *Germans* on that side; the other to take its march along the Sea Coast, under the Command of *Anthony d' Aumont* Marshal of *France*, who took *Courtray* in two days, *Dyxmuiden* in four and twenty Hours; *Furnes* in one Day; and *Armentiers* surrender'd as soon as he appear'd before it. The Army which the King commanded in Person, found as little resistance as the other, *Charleroy* was demolished by the *Spaniards*; *Binch* and *Aeth* opened their Gates at the same moment they appeared in sight of them; *Tournay* did not hold out above twice four and twenty Hours, and *Dovay* and its Citadel no longer; *Oudenarde* not above one Day, and *Alost* but a few Hours: To be short, in less than four Months time they made themselves Masters of thirteen or fourteen places, all very considerable for their strength.

The King enters Flanders, 1667.

Liſle alone held out a Siege of eleven days, after opening of the Trenches. It is a large City, very well Fortified, and accounted the moſt Populous of any in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. There were at that time within the City, no leſs than thirty thouſand Inhabitants capable of bearing Arms, beſides four thouſand Soldiers, and a great number of good Officers and Volunteers, who had thrown themſelves into the Place, to ſignalize themſelves upon this occaſion, under one of the beſt and moſt experienc'd Commanders in the *Spaniſh* Service. The King having received Advice that the Count *de Marcin* General of the *Spaniſh* Army, was on his march to relieve the Place, he detach'd the Marſhal *de Crequi* (who had joyn'd him before with his Flying Camp) to poſſeſs himſelf of all the Avenues, thro' which the Count *de Marcin* muſt needs approach the place. The City being in the mean while forced to Capitulate, the King reſolved to march ſtreight to the Enemy; But the Marſhal *de Crequi* on one, and *Bernard de Gigant de Belleſons*, likewiſe Marſhal of *France*, on the other ſide, had ſaved the King this trouble; they having before routed the *Spaniards*, of whom they killed five hundred upon the ſpot, took from them ſeveral Standards and Kettle-Drums, and three hundred Priſoners, among whom were many Colonels, and ſome of their General Officers. Count *Marcin*, who was not inſenſible that the whole fortune of *Flanders* depended on his Army, thought it moſt adviſable to make a ſafe retreat, and to throw his Troops into ſuch places, as were moſt expoſed to the Victorious Enemy.

This

This prodigious progreſs of the King's Arms, did alarm all the Neighbouring Princes, who did not without great reaſon fear, that the next Campaign, he would like a torrent, over-run all the reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. There had for many Years laſt paſt, been an implacable hatred between the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*; but, as Love and Hatred among Sovereigns are ſwayed by Intereſt, theſe two Nations ſetting aſide all former Animoſities, were ſoon reconciled, when the laſt being terrified by the late ſucceſs of our Arms, found their own ſecurity to depend on the preſervation of the firſt; to ſtop the Progreſs of the King's Conqueſts, and to preſerve *Flanders* from falling into his Hands, the *Hollanders* enter'd into a League with *England* and *Sueden*, by virtue of which, theſe three engaged themſelves to furniſh each of them fifteen thouſand Men (beſides their *quota* at Sea) for the defence of *Flanders*: This League was called the *Tripple Alliance*. But, as their chief aim was rather to terrifie both Parties into a compliance, than to enter into an open War, they offer'd their Mediation with this Solemn Declaration, that they were ready to take up Arms, againſt either of theſe two Crowns, which they ſhould find averſe to the Peace. Jan. 23. 1668.

The King, tho' in the midſt of the Career of his Victories, yet was not unwilling to hearken to their Propoſitions; and, notwithſtanding, what he had taken from the *Spaniards* did fall far ſhort from what his juſt Pretenſions were on the Queen's account, yet he offer'd to reſt contented with his Conqueſts.

A Treaty was therefore agreed on to be set on Foot at *Aix la Chapelle*, to compose these differences; But the *Spanish* Ambassadours only endeavouring to gain time by delays, the King, to oblige them to a more ready compliance, and not to let slip any opportunity Feb. 1668. of pursuing his Right, conquer'd the *Franche Compte* in the very heart of the Winter. Neither the Frosts nor Snow, neither the overflowing of the Rivers, nor badness of the Ways, were able to stay him at home, nor to prevent his march, but with an eagerness suitable to the greatness of his design, he appear'd at the Head of his Army, with such success, that the whole Province submitted within the space of eight days. A Conquest so sudden did not only surprize the *Spaniards*, but also the Mediators, to that degree, that without any further tergiversations, they offer'd to grant the King's former demands, provided he would restore the *Franche Compte*. The King was unwilling to part with so fair a Province, extreamly convenient for its situation; but the Love of Peace prevailing over his Interest, he resolv'd rather to abandon that Province, than to continue the War, at a time when the Allies being more powerful at Sea than the *French*, might, in all probability, have made an attempt upon our Coasts, or at least have ruin'd our Trade at Sea; A Peace was therefore concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*, on the Second of *May*, in the Year 1668. by Virtue of which, our King restor'd to the *Spaniards* the *Franche Compte*, all their Fortifications demolish'd; and these resign'd to the King all the places they had Conquer'd in *Flanders*, with their dependencies. This

This Peace was ſoon follow'd by the re-eſtabliſhment of an union in the Church, which for theſe fifteen or twenty Years laſt paſt, had been interrupted by ſome diſputes about the true nature of *Grace*, and were riſen to that pitch, as to threaten the Church and State with great Commotions, if by the prudent Care of the King the Tempeſt had not been laid, and a perfect Calm introduc'd. The moſt ſurpriſing thing in the World! That Religion which ſhould be the ſtricteſt tye of Charity among Men, proves two frequently the ſcource of Conteſts and Diviſions. What is more frequent, than to ſee Mankind follow blindfold the opinion of their Leaders with ſo much Zeal, as to involve the State in a Civil War; a Prince therefore, who truly underſtands his Intereſt, can never be too watchful to keep a ſtrict Hand over thoſe who ſow the firſt Seeds of theſe Diſcords, and when he has nipp'd them in the bud, to take effectual care to prevent them from growing again, and taking root among his Subjects. Janſeniſm *ſuppreſs'd in* France.

As it is beyond queſtion, that Mankind are not capable of performing any good Works meriting Eternal Salvation without God's *Grace*, ſo it is very difficult to determine in what manner this *Grace* operates in us: This is one of thoſe Myſtery's which are not to be attempted without great hazard, the ſcrutiny proving frequently dangerous to the Undertaker, who flatters himſelf to exhauſt their meaning, rather by ſubtilities than a plain interpretation. Into what groſs errors are we not apt to fall, when flattering our ſelves to be more quick-ſighted than others, we bid

farewel to true Humility and Submiſſion.

Under Pope *Clement* VIII. this point firſt began to be call'd in queſtion betwixt two Religious Orders, who in order to take cogniſance of the matter, appointed a Congregation compoſed of Cardinals, and the moſt Learned Divines in *Rome*. Pope *Paul* V. reviv'd the ſaid Congregation, with an intention to give a final deciſion in the matter; but the differences ariſen betwixt him and the *Venetians*, having diverted his thoughts another way, all theſe great preparations produc'd no other effect, but only a Decree from the Court of Inquiſition, forbiding all Members of the *Catholick* Church to Write, or enter into any Diſpute, or to accuſe one another of preſumption, or erroneous Opinions concerning the Doctrine of *Grace*.

But this prohibition was not ſufficient to terrifie a certain Biſhop of *Ypres* in *Flanders*, (whoſe Name was *Cornelius Janſenius*) a Man of very profound Learning, to write a Book concerning this Doctrine in a very lofty Stile, as believing, that his frequently peruſing and pondering upon *Auſtin*, who was always look'd upon as the true Oracle of *Grace*, he had ſurmounted all difficulties relating to this Controverſie. It was upon this aſſurance that the Biſhop flatter'd himſelf to have found out the true meaning of this Doctor, and to have received his Doctrine in its genuine Purity, free from the errors, which had been neglected in the *Catholick* Schools for above five hundred Years paſt; but theſe his ſpecious pretences were not able to exempt his Book from the cenſure of Pope *Urban* VIII. who condem'd

This Book was Printed the firſt time at Paris, 1639.

demn'd it, without making the leaſt Reflections upon any of his Propoſitions in particular, alledging only for a reaſon, becauſe the Doctrine contained in this Book might revive ſome errors, formerly condemned, as ſuch by Pope *Pius* V. and Pope *Gregory* XIII.

France had hitherto ſtood neuter, the Learned there having eſpous'd neither ſide, but after it began to make ſuch noiſe in the World, a certain ſet of Men, of an extraordinary Zeal, and great Auſterity of Life, beſides this well vers'd in all manner of Learning, and Writing upon moſt Subjects with a great deal of Politeneſs, began firſt to make this Book the object of their Solitary Entertainment, and afterwards publickly to eſpouſe the Quarrel with ſo much boldneſs, that they ſpared no Body in their Writings, a fault commonly belonging to thoſe who are very zealous and paſſionate for Novelties. The extraordinary reputation of the Author, the moment of the point in queſtion, but above all, the great and ſo much admired Name of St. *Auſtin*, who appear'd in the Frontiſpiece of the Book; add to this the merits of the Perſons who had engaged in its defence, their intreagues and Cabals, all this together had made this Book ſo Famous throughout the whole Kingdom, that it was the chief object of Entertainment among the Learned, who for the moſt part talk'd of nothing ſo much as of the Triumph and Omnipotency of *Grace* over the Free-Will.

On the other Hand, thoſe that oppos'd themſelves to this new broach'd Doctrine, pretended to evince, that what was contain'd

in the Bishop's Book, was no more than a repetition of those Errors maintain'd by *Calvin* in respect of the Mystery of *Grace*. Both Parties maintaining their Opinions with so much heat, that things seem'd to tend to some remarkable Revolution in the Church, if the Bishops had not given as many eminent demonstrations of their Zeal for the suppressing of this new Doctrine, as its Defenders shewed eagerness in propagating and spreading it among the People.

France being about that time involv'd in heavy both Foreign and Civil Wars, it was impossible to call together either a National or Provincial Assembly, for which reason, fourscore and five Bishops writ to Pope *Innocent* X. to intreat his Holiness, to put an end to these Controversies, by giving his decisive Opinion, concerning these five Propositions, which they said, were the Foundation, and as it were the Abridgment of the whole Doctrine contain'd in the Book of *Jansenius*.

His Disciples on the other Hand were not negligent in the matter, but sent some of their Members to *Rome*, who endeavour'd to maintain their Doctrine, both in several Private Audiences which were granted them by the Pope, and in those Congregations which were held in the Pope's Presence, to debate upon a matter of so great moment. But all their efforts proved fruitless, their Arguments not being strong enough to convince the Holy Father, who condemned and declared the following Propositions as Heretical.

I. *Some*

I.

Some of God's Commandments are impoſſible to be performed by a righteous Man, notwithſtanding he does not want Will, and does as much as poſſible in him lies, according to his preſent condition, to accompliſh them, he being deſtitute of Grace, *which enables him to fulfil the Will of God.*

II.

We don't reſiſt the Internal Grace, *even conſidered as in the State of corrupted Nature.*

III.

To perform good or bad Works in the State of corrupted Nature, there is not abſolutely requiſite a liberty in us Mortals which implies a neceſſity, but only ſuch a Liberty as excludes all conſtraint.

IV.

The Demi-Pelagians *did admit of the neceſſity of an* Internal preventing Grace; *in each particular Action, even in the firſt beginning of our Faith; and they were Hereticks, becauſe they declared this* Grace *to be of ſuch a Nature, as to be in the Power of Men either to reſiſt or obey its motion.*

V.

It ſavours of Demi-Pelagianiſm *to maintain, that* Jeſus Chriſt *did die and ſhed his Blood for all Mankind in general,*

Before

Before the Condemnation of these Propositions, there was no Body, who in the least doubted, but that they were the same which *Jansenius* had maintain'd in his Treatise, especially since all those who had espoused his Party had declared them to be so in *Flanders*, *France*, and *Rome*, both in publick and private, in their Writings and Disputes, as being the true sense of the Doctrine of St. *Austin*. But no sooner were they condemn'd by the Pope, but the same Persons, who not long before had stood up in their defence with so much eagerness, declar'd publickly, that these five Propositions were no where to be met with in the Writings of *Jansenius*, or at least not in the same sense as they had been presented to the Pope, and that being only an Invention of some of his Proselytes, this Condemnation did not in the least impair the reputation of the Book or the Author.

This dispute caused so much heat among both Parties, that there appear'd greater animosities about the matter of Fact, than there had been before concerning the true merits of the Cause; wherefore an Assembly of Bishops being called together, gave their Opinion in express Terms; *That these were the Propositions of* Jansenius, *and were Condemned as such, in the same sense as he had maintained them in his Treatise.* This Declaration was not long after confirm'd by a Brief from *Rome*, with a certain *Formular* annex'd to it. Two Assemblies were held in *France* on the account of this *Formular*, in which it was resolved by the Bishops there present, that the said *Formular* should

March 9, 1654.

In May 1654.

In September 1656.

ſhould be ſubſcribed by all the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſticks of each Dioceſe. But theſe reſolutions were not put in execution at that time, but the matter hung in ſuſpenſe, till the King interpoſing his Authority, brought it to perfection.

After he had taken the Reins of the Government into his own Hands, his chiefeſt care was, how to find out ſuitable remedies againſt theſe Inteſtine Diviſions, which reviv'd in him that moſt terrible *Idea* of all the miſchiefs and misfortunes, which, occaſioned by the followers of the Doctrine of *Calvin*, had afflicted the Kingdom for theſe thirty Years laſt paſt. When he recall'd to mind and ſeriouſly reflected how by the intreagues of this Sect, above a Million of the braveſt of his Subjects had been Maſſacred, or kill'd in the Wars, how above three hundred goodly Cities had been deſtroy'd, and the moſt Antient and Richeſt Families in *France* were very near extirpated; the more, I ſay, he reflected upon theſe Calamities, the more he judged it becoming his preſent ſtation, to ſtifle in the very Cradle this growing Evil, which in time might prove fatal both to Church and State.

The Followers of *Janſenius* refuſing to ſign the *Formular*, purſuant to the Orders of the Aſſemblies, alledging, that they had no Authority to oblige them to it, the King applied himſelf to Pope *Alexander* VII. deſiring him to preſcribe another *Formular*, and by his Bull to Command every Body to ſubſcribe it. But after this Bull had been obtain'd, they publickly proteſted they could not in Conſcience 1665.

The Bull was dated Feb. 15.

ence subscribe any *Formular* which declar'd the Propositions to belong to *Jansenius*, and that they had been Condemn'd as such: That neither the Pope nor the Church it self being Infallible in things relating to matter of Fact, they ought not to be forced to a blind Obedience. That their Eyes and Reasons were the most natural Guides and Judges of matter of Fact; that indeed Pope *Innocent* and his Successor, and three several Assemblies of the Bishops had given their Judgment in the matter, and declared these Propositions to be the same, maintain'd by *Jansenius*, and they had been Condemn'd as such, but that it was impossible for them to agree with them in their Opinion, they having perus'd and examin'd the Book of *Jansenius* with all the Candour and Exactness imaginable, and nevertheless had not been able to find out these Propositions.

To this it was answer'd, that to argue at that rate, was in effect, to declare in plain terms, that the Pope and the Bishops had unjustly Condemn'd an Innocent Prelate, and had declar'd a Book Heretical, which contained nothing but the pure Doctrine of St. *Austin*. What a horrid confusion, said they, must this produce, if it be allow'd that the Church may err to that degree, as to declare and condemn a most excellent Book, which contains nothing but the purest Truth, as a Work of the Devil? Tho' it must be confess'd, that generally speaking, the Church is not infallible as to every particular in matters of Fact, it is nevertheless undeniable, that in matters of the greatest consequence, tending absolutely to its Tranquillity, and the main-

maintaining of Church Diſcipline, the Church cannot be in the dark, but ought to be the Teſt of our Faith; for how could ſhe be the Pillar of Truth, if ſhe could be guilty of ſuch enormous errors, as to oblige us under the moſt ſevere puniſhments to receive that for real Truth, which in effect is notoriouſly falſe.

Theſe Diſputes maintain'd with equal heat on both ſides, were likely to have continu'd for ever, if the King to put an end to the Controverſie, had not thought fit to put the laſt Bull in execution, and to exhort the Biſhops to take forthwith effectual care, that the *Formular* ſhould be ſubſcribed by all the Eccleſiaſticks, without exception, in their reſpective Dioceſes; commanding his Officers to aſſiſt them in their Zeal, and to give him an exact account of their Proceedings.

When they ſaw the King abſolutely reſolved to break the neck of this Controverſie by his Authority, all obey'd, and theſe Prelates themſelves who had hitherto publickly proteſted againſt the ſigning of the *Formular*, following the footſteps of the reſt, *Janſeniſm* was quite ſuppreſs'd, all Diſputes ceas'd, and Tranquillity was reſtor'd both in Church and State.

During this Calm the King employed part of his time in erecting moſt magnificent Structures in ſeveral places, but eſpecially the Palace of *Verſailles*, which from a ſimple Hunting Rendezvous, was (by his Orders) in a little time made one of the fineſt places in the World: For, in leſs than two Years time, in a barren Ground, without Water, or any other Advantages, there appear'd vaſt Allies of Trees, *In* Octob. 1668.

Trees, ſpacious Groves and Labyrinths, a whole Foreſt of Orange-Trees: Here you might feaſt your Eyes with Statues of the beſt Marble without number, and Ciſterns of a prodigious bigneſs of the ſame Materials: Whereever you turn'd your ſelf, you ſaw Fountains with their Ciſterns adorned with *Coloſſus*'s of Braſs, or moſt excellent Figures of the moſt exquiſite Marble of a prodigious bigneſs, with an infinite number of Water-ſpouts, and a Canal that reaches out of ſight. To be ſhort, all that may be ſeen, that is either extraordinary or ſurpriſing in the moſt famous and moſt accompliſh'd Structures, is to be met with here, there being nothing that ſurpaſſes this Palace in Magnificence; if you ſee it from any of the neighbouring Hills, it affords the fineſt and moſt delightful Proſpect, that can be imagined. The inſide of this Pallace is in all reſpects anſwerable to its outward Grandeur. The moſt exquiſite pieces which being done by the Hand of the greateſt Maſter of our Age, adorn the chiefeſt Apartments; the fine Tapeſtries, interwoven with Gold, ineſtimable both for their Beauty and Workmanſhip; that prodigious Quantity of Plate, that variety of ſilver Cups, Baſons, and other Veſſels of all ſorts, which are to be ſeen upon the Side-board Tables; all theſe admirable pieces being the Objects of our higheſt admiration, are to be valued by a ſilent ſurprize.

Le Brun.

The King Sacrificed all his large Silver Veſſels to the Neceſſity of the State, 1689.

The King taking a more than ordinary Delight in ſo fine a place, he made it the conſtant Reſidence of his Court, which at that time appear'd in ſuch ſplendour, that nothing was comparable to it in any other place, this

great

great Prince ſparing no Coſt to make it appear the moſt magnificent in the World. All this did not proceed from any vain Oſtentation, or purely to indulge his Pleaſure, but from a real intention to augment thereby in the People, the reſpect and eſteem due to the Soveraign; and to raiſe in Foreigners an *Idea* of the Riches of the Kingdom, and of the Grandeur of the Prince that ſways the Scepter. But theſe were but weak and tranſitory Appearances of his Greatneſs; his Riches, Power and Generoſity in affording timely Succours to his Allies, had rendred his great Name ſo famous among Foreign Nations, that the greateſt and proudeſt Monarchs ſent their Ambaſſadors from far diſtant Countries, to court his Friendſhip and deſire his Protection. But as his growing Reputation could not but be a great Eye-ſore to his Jealous Neighbours, who were kept in continual Alarm by ſo Potent a Prince, ſo they left no Stone unturn'd to thwart his Deſign, and to ſtop the career of his good Fortune.

To the Venetians *in* Candia, 1669.

A Turkiſh *Chiaus*, 1669.

Ambaſſadors from Muſcovy *and* Guinea, 1670.

Among others, *Charles* IV. then Duke of *Lorrain*, was one of the moſt active againſt him. He was a Perſon equally dexterous in adviſing and executing, a brave Soldier and great Captain, but the moſt unquiet and inconſtant of all Men living, whoſe delight being to fiſh in troubled Waters, was always in motion, always raiſing Soldiers, always in the Field; making a Trade of Soldiery, chooſing one ſide to Day, and another to Morrow, pillaging without diſtinction his Subjects, his Friends and Foes; a Character more ſuitable to a *Cham of Tartary*, than to a Soveraign of

Conduct of the Duke of Lorrain

a

a ſmall Principality, whoſe Intereſt is to be gentle, and live peaceably, and to obſerve either an exact Neutrality, or to ſhelter himſelf under the Protection of the moſt Potent of his Neighbouring Princes.

Lewis XIII. having ſeized upon *Lorrain* to chaſtiſe the Duke for his many malicious Intrigues, he marched with his Troops into *Flanders*, where he gather'd vaſt Riches, by ſelling their Service at an exceſſive rate, at the beginning of each Campaign putting his Soldiers Pay into his own Pocket, and affording them no other Subſiſtence, than full liberty to live at Diſcretion where-ever they came, and to Pillage the Country at pleaſure. The loud Complaints of the People, the little account the Duke made of the *Spaniſh Miniſters*, with whom he would frequently make his Sport, having at laſt occaſioned great Jealouſies againſt him, he was ſecured, and not ſet at liberty, till after the Concluſion of *the General Peace*. By vertue of this *Treaty* he was reſtored to his Dominions, but refuſing to accept of theſe Conditions, ſome more favourable were agreed on, in a particular Treaty concluded not above two or three Days before the Death of Cardinal *Mazarine*.

The next following Year the ſaid Duke having a Diſguſt at his Family, propoſed his two Dutchies as a Gift to the King, and as a Pledge of his ſincere Intentions, offered to ſurrender *Marſal* into his Hands. The Treaty was no ſooner concluded and ſigned, but the Duke, according to his wonted cuſtom began to make many Evaſions, and by ſeveral Delays fifteen or ſixteen Months paſſed without

In Febr. 1652.

out the leaſt probability of performing his Promiſe, till finding the place inveſted by the King's Troops, who were ready to Beſiege it, he was conſtrained to deliver it up.

During the Wars in *Flanders*, it was much againſt his Will that he aſſiſted the King with four or five Regiments, as it plainly appear'd the Year following, when he left nothing unattempted to debauch them. 1663.

After the Concluſion of the *Peace* at *Aix la Chapelle*, it was the Wonder of all the World to ſee him augment his Troops, to make new Levies, and enter into new Alliances. The King was not wanting on his ſide to give him timely notice, that he was not ignorant of thoſe Tranſactions; but his ill Stars having made him inſenſible of his true Intereſt, and incapable of receiving good Council, he continued his former courſe, till the King found himſelf under an abſolute Neceſſity to drive him out of his Dominions.

The King ſeiſes upon Lorrain, 1670.

The Duke was ſo generally hated, that there appear'd not any Body that ſhew'd the leaſt inclination to eſpouſe his Intereſt, much leſs to lend a helping hand towards his Reſtauration. He himſelf ſeem'd not much concerned at his Loſs, it being more ſuitable to his Inclinations to march from place to place at the Head of a good Body of his Troops, than to lie idle at *Mirecourt*, his ordinary Reſidence in the Dukedom of *Lorrain*. Living in expectation of the next War, he imployed moſt of his time in making Cabals againſt *France*, being chiefly encouraged by the *Hollanders*, who at that time made it their Buſi-

neſs to embroil *Europe*, and conſequently were extreamly glad to have met with a Prince of his Character, who might be very ſerviceable to them in ſpreading about fears and jealouſies, thereby to raiſe againſt the King ſo many Enemies, as might, under pretence of protecting this Prince, ſerve as a Check to the Greatneſs of *France*. A fatal Maxim of State! which had almoſt proved the Deſtruction of the *United Provinces*, and in effect brought them to the very brink of ruine.

Cauſes of the Dutch *War.*

This *Commonwealth*, which in the laſt Age was no more than a handful of Men confined to a ſmall corner of the World, penn'd in betwixt the Fenns and Waters, was ſince become ſo rich by its Commerce, ſo famous by ſeveral Victories; ſo dreadful for its Power and prudent Management, that they were the admiration of the World. But for four or five Years paſt they had been ſo much blinded with Vain-glory, and their Affluence of Fortune, that by their Vanities they had drawn upon themſelves the hatred of all their Neighbours. They had been ſo inſolent as to cauſe ſeveral Medals to be made, containing very injurious Reflections againſt Crowned Heads; among the reſt there was one repreſenting *Hollandia*, leaning upon many Trophies with this Inſcription; *That ſhe had reſtored vigour to the Law, reformed Religion, protected, maintain'd, and reconcil'd Kings*; *clear'd the Seas and ſecured the Common Tranquillity, by the force of her Arms.* After the Concluſion of the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, they made it their Boaſt, that it was by their means that the *Spaniſh Netherlands* had been preſerved, and that they had ſtop'd

ſtop'd the Career of the King's Conqueſts and Victories. They did without intermiſſion form Cabals in all Courts of *Europe*, being very prodigal of their Money to ſet on foot new Alliances againſt him, and that with ſo little reſpect to his Perſon, that they did not make any Secret of the matter, adjuging it to be of ſuch a nature as to be paſs'd all Diſſimulation.

The King to make a ſuitable return, and to prevent their Deſigns againſt him, reſolved to attack them with vigour, and to try whether he could humble theſe proud People, and revive among them the Modeſty and Moderation of their Anceſtors; and put them in mind what Obligations they had received from the *French* Kings, his Predeceſſors, as alſo from him in particular. Who can be ſo ignorant, as not to know that without the Aſſiſtance of *France* they would have been ſo far from being able to make ſuch a Figure in the World, that on the contrary it would have been impoſſible for them to defend themſelves againſt the Power of *Spain*? It is to *Henry* IV. and *Lewis* XIII. they ſtand indebted for vaſt Sums, and a conſiderable Body of their beſt Troops expended and maintained for their Defence; and by the Confeſſion of the *Hollanders* themſelves, they ſcarce ever obtain'd a conſiderable Victory, but theſe Troops had ſome ſhare in the Action; it was but lately that the King had eſpouſed their Intereſt againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and engaged himſelf in their Quarrel againſt the Crown of *England*; and upon all Occaſions had given them ſuch real Demonſtrations of his Friendſhip, that they

might have expected any thing from him, if by their Ingratitude they had not drawn his Anger upon them.

The Enterprize was doubtleſs very Glorious, but withal very difficult; they were well provided with Money, they had a good Fleet at Sea, and an Army on Foot; their Frontiers were covered on all ſides with Fortifications; beſides that, they were encompaſs'd betwixt the three Rivers, the *Rhine*, the *Meuſe*, and the *Yſſel*: Notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, the King was no ſooner entred the Country, but he Conquered three of their *Provinces*, and in leſs than two Months time made himſelf Maſter of above forty of their beſt places: A ſtrange Cataſtrophe! which ought to ſerve as a Leſſon to the World, that ſoon or late God puniſhes the Proud and Ungrateful, and that it is his Pleaſure to give us from time to time ſuch remarkable Inſtances of the Frailty of all Humane Glory.

AN

AN *ESSAY* UPON THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF *LEWIS* the *GREAT.*

LIB. III.

THE King having taken a firm Reſolution to declare War againſt the *Hollanders*, he ordered New Levies to be made in all Parts; beſides the Troops in his Garriſons, which conſiſted of fourſcore Thouſand Men, he had the like Number in the *The Campaign in 1672.*

Field of his own Subjects; twenty Thousand *Swiss* newly-raised, ten Thousand *Italians*, six or seven thousand *English*, and two Regiments of *Swedes*. This formidable Army was commanded by the King in Person, and under him by *Lewis de Bourbon* II. Prince of *Conde*, and *Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne*, Viscount of *Turenne*, the two greatest Generals in *Europe*. He had laid up vast Sums of Money for the Payment and Encouragement of his Soldiers, who were for the most part inured to the Hardships of War, and his Magazines were stored with every thing requisite for the Maintenance of so vast a Number.

But tho' it might be reasonably supposed, that such extraordinary Warlike Preparations must needs strike Terrour into all the Neighbouring Princes, their Eyes were so much dazzled with the imaginary Grandeur of the *Hollanders*, and with their vast Riches, that they imagined the King must have good Fortune, if in the first Campaign he could take one or two of their Frontier places. They were so strongly and generally prepossessed with this Opinion, that they thought it time enough to talk of relieving the *Hollanders*, and in the mean while to provide the best they could for their own Security. But the more difficulty they had proposed in attacking this *Commonwealth*, the more were they surprized a little after, when they received the News of the most stupendious Success of his Arms.

All the *Low Countries* were put into such a Consternation at the King's March, that *Boisleduc*, *Husden*, and L'*Illo*, tho' at a great distance opened their Sluces. But they might have

have ſaved themſelves that trouble, the Thunderbolt being not to ſtrike on that ſide. After he had provided all the ſmall Places round about *Maſtrick*, with good Garriſons, to block up that place, he directed his March towards the *Rhine*, where having divided his Forces into four ſeveral Bodies, he ordered *Orſoy*, *Weſel*, *Rhinberg* and *Burick* to be Beſieged all at a time.

They being all Frontier Places, were very well fortified and provided with good Garriſons and all other Neceſſaries for their defence; notwithſtanding which they made but a feeble Reſiſtance, the King's Troops having forced them to a Surrender within four or five Days time.

Rhinberg, which was Beſieged by the King in Perſon, ſurrendred without Diſcharging a Cannon.

The Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Brother, was forced to make uſe of his Artillery for a few Hours before *Orſoy*. For which reaſon the King, to terrifie the other Garriſons from being ſo preſumptuous for the future, as to refuſe Surrendring at the firſt Summons, order'd that both the Officers and Souldiers ſhould be made Priſoners of War.

Burick was but one Days work for the Viſcount of *Turenne*; and *Weſel* ſurrendred at diſcretion to the Prince of *Conde*, ſo ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter of a certain Fort which commanded the place.

The unexpected Surrender of theſe four Towns, ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the Garriſon of *Rees*, that they did not hold out above two Days, tho it be undeniable, that its Forti-

fications were at that time as compleat and regular as any in *Europe*. *Emmerick* was as soon Surrendred as Besieged; and *Doctkum* gave us no other trouble than to send thither a Brigade to take possession of it. Five or six more lesser places opened their Gates at the approach of their Victorious Enemies, without the least Formalities of a Capitulation.

All this being performed within the space of eight Days, the King was for improving the Consternation of the People to his Advantage, and for pushing on his Fortune with the utmost Vigour; his first Resolution was to Besiege *Nimeguen*, and at the same time to force the Prince of *Orange* in his Entrenchments. This young Prince, the only Off-spring, and true Heir of all the vast Possessions and noble Qualifications of those great Men of the same Name, (his Ancestors) who laid the first Foundation of this *Commonwealth*, lay Intrench'd near the Banks of the *Yssel*, with an Army of five and twenty Thousand Men; but both these Designs being not to be put in Execution, without the hazard of a great many Men, and the loss of much time, the King changed his Resolution, and order'd his Army to march towards the Isle of *Betaw*, with an intention, to try, whether thereabouts they might not find a convenient Passage over the *Rhine*.

The King passes the Rhine, 12. June.

The Waters of the *Rhine* were very low at that Season, by reason of the extream Heats, and that there had not faln any Rains for a considerable time before; so that as deep as it is at other times, it seem'd then to be fordable in several places. Two Gentlemen living there-

thereabouts, having ſhew'd the Ford to the Prince of *Conde*, he ordered it immediately to be ſounded, which proved ſo ſhallow that Horſe might paſs without much danger, they being to ſwim no further than about the length of an hundred Paces. The King being extreamly rejoyced at this welcome News, reſolved not to ſtay for the perfecting of the Bridge of Boats, and therefore, without looſing any further time, marches by Break of Day out of his Camp, at the Head of his *Gens d'Arms*, his Guards and *Chevaux legers*, beſides a Detachment of two Thouſand Horſe, towards the Banks of the *Rhine*, where he was to be met by the Prince of *Conde*.

It was obſervable, that the King appear'd more brisk and reſolute at that time, than he had done for a great while before; the Glorious Aſſurance that appear'd in his Countenance, being a happy Preſage of good Succeſs to the Soldiery, he no ſooner order'd the Signal to be given, but firſt a great number of Voluntiers, the *French* Regiment of Curaſſiers, and the Troops of the King's Houſhold threw themſelves into the River, with an unparallell'd Reſolution, relying more upon their own Courage, than the uſe of their Arms. The *Rhine*, tho of a conſiderable breadth in this place, yet runs with a Current ſo ſwift and violent, as if it were forced through a very ſtreight Channel. Beſides this, it having blown a Storm the Night before, the high Winds toſſed dreadful Waves againſt the Shore, which well might have terrified the Soldiers from attempting the Paſſage at that time; but being by

by their King's Preſence inſpired with a Courage to deſpiſe all Danger, neither the ſwiftneſs of the Current, nor the dreadful appearance of the high Waves, nor the ſight of their Enemies, who lay entrench'd on the other ſide ready to receive them, nothing of all this could daunt their Courage, or ſtop their Progreſs; there were but a few loſt in this Paſſage, who being carried away from the reſt by the violence of the Stream, were ſwallowed up by the Waves, or periſhed in the Whirlpools.

As they began to approach the other ſide of the Shoar, they were vigorouſly attack'd by three Squadrons of the Enemy, who being entred the River, killed and wounded ſome of our Men; but finding our Troops to advance without being daunted, they after their firſt Charge retreated, and betook themſelves to their Heels: Then it was that the *French* Horſe encouraging one another by their joyful Acclamations, reach'd the Bank of the River, and tho they were all dropping wet, purſued the Flying Enemy for above a League.

At the ſame time the Prince of *Conde* attack'd ſome *Dutch* Battallions that lay entrench'd at the Entrance of a Wood; they were ſo terrified at the very ſight of the *French*, that in lieu of making good the Paſs, they threw down their Arms. The Prince promiſed them Quarter, ſeverely forbidding any Body to attack them; but his Nephew the Duke of *Longueville*, being ignorant of it, committed an act of imprudence, in firing one of his Piſtols juſt near their Entrenchments, which coſt him his Life; for the Enemy

my believing that they were advancing to cut them to pieces, betook themſelves again to their Arms, and at their firſt Diſcharge killed the Duke with five more Perſons of Quality, and wounded a conſiderable number, amongſt whom was *Armand du Cambout*, Duke of *Coſſelin*, a Peer of *France*; and the Prince of *Conde*, who was drawn thither by the noiſe and diſcharging of the Fire Arms, was wounded by a Piſtol-ſhot in his Wriſt. The *French* being exaſperated at the loſs of their Officers and Comerades, cut moſt of the Enemy in pieces, except ſome who ſaved themſelves by flight.

The King in the mean while ſaw the other Regiments of Horſe paſs the River one after another, Squadron by Squadron, with leſs danger than before, the great number of Horſe that ſwam cloſe together, breaking in a great meaſure the violence of the Waves, and ſwiftneſs of the Current. The next Day following, the Bridge being got ready, all the Infantry paſs over it with the whole Train of Artillery.

It is not to be expreſs'd, what a noiſe this Action ſo bravely undertaken, and ſo prudently manag'd did make in the World; the Prince of *Orange*, for fear of being ſurpriſed, thought it his beſt way to quit his Intrenchments, and by long Marches retreated deeper into the Country. The generality of the People being fill'd with Conſternation, put all the hopes of their Safety in the Mercy of their Conqueror; which they endeavoured to purchaſe from his Hands, by ſtriving (as it may be ſaid) who ſhould be the firſt that ſhould put themſelves

under

under his Protection. The Soldiers got an incredible Booty, wallowing for two Months together in Plenty and Riches.

Doesburg and *Arnheim* did not hold out above four and twenty Hours after opening of the Trenches.

The Fort of *Skink* (*Shencken Skans*) ſo famous both for its Strength and Situation, and the long and vigorous Attacks it has ſo bravely ſuſtained at other times, ſurrendred before the opening of the Trenches.

The Forts of *Woeren* and St. *Andrew* did the ſame.

The City of *Utrecht*, tho ſecured by ſeveral Places of good Strength, ſent the Keys of their Gates to the Victorious Enemy at a good diſtance: All Places in the *Betaw* followed their Example, and there were very few Cities upon the *Rhine*, the *Meuſe*, the *Wahle* and *Yſſel*, but what readily opened their Gates and received Safeguards.

In the Province of *Holland*, the Cities of *Oudewater*, *Voerden*, and *Narden* were alſo taken by the King's Forces, and *Amſterdam* it ſelf, that proud and potent City, was upon the point of Capitulating, and notwithſtanding all the brave Efforts of ſome of the Magiſtrates, would have been forced to ſubmit to the King's Conquering Arms, if the Officer who commanded in our moſt advanced Quarters, had not been careleſs in intrenching himſelf immediately, in a ſmall place called *Muyden*; from whence we might have batter'd all their Ships going to *Amſterdam*; a fatal Neglect, which preſerved the whole Province from falling into our hands.

Empires

Empires as well as other things have their certain Periods, and Critical Minutes, which if known and dexterously managed, prove commonly fatal to them. In the mean time *Francis Henry de Montmorency* Duke of *Luxemburgh*, having with a considerable Body of Troops, and many experienced Officers, joined the Forces of the Bishop of *Munster*, and of the Archbishop of *Cologne*, (who being dissatisfied with the *Hollanders*) were re-entred into a League with the King against them) had Conquered a third Province.

The Duke after having put Safeguards into seven or eight small places, Besieged in conjunction with the Bishop of *Munster* the City of *Groll*. This strong place having surrendred without making any resistance, the Archbishop's Forces being joined with the rest, they Besieged the City of *Deventer*, which being soon forced to come to a Capitulation, those of *Zwoll* and *Campen*, and generally all the other Places of the Province of *Overyssel* followed their Example.

To make due reflection upon these surprising Events, they appear so extraordinary and prodigious, as to be almost past belief; for it is scarce possible to imagin, that so many brave Cities, which hitherto had past for impregnable, should, without making any Defence, have surrender'd at discretion, especially, if it be consider'd, that most of them being provided with good Garrisons, and that in a Country, which for a considerable time had been accounted the School of War in *Europe*, scarce any of their strong holds to have defended themselves above four and twenty hours,

hours, except *Zutphen* and *Nimeguen*, the first of which held out four, and the last nine days.

But, when People after the Fatigues of a tedious War, enjoy the fruits of a glorious Peace, they begin to abandon themselves to their pleasures, which renders them careless of their own security, and of improving Martial Discipline, one of the Pillars of the State. A Nation being thus inveigled and dazled with their present good Fortune, are soon brought into confusion, at the least mischance.

The *Hollanders* being reduced to this extremity, and seeing themselves in most imminent danger of becoming an absolute Prey to the K's Conquering Arms, judg'd it most conducible to their present condition to sue for Peace; for which reason the States deputed some to the King, to know upon what terms he would be pleas'd to grant it, and at the same time sent to *Charles* II. then King of *England*, to be informed concerning his Pretensions against them.

For it is to be observed, that it was not the *French* King alone, who was offended at the *Hollanders*; they had given great causes of complaint to the King of *England*, by their Insolence both to him and his Subjects, by troubling their Commerce, and especially by fomenting divisions betwixt that Prince and his People, which ever since the Peace concluded at *Breda*, they had look'd upon as the main point of their own security. Our King being not ignorant in the Art of improving so favourable a juncture, and how to represent the injuries receiv'd by the *Dutch* to King *Charles*

Charles II. it made ſo lively an impreſſion upon that Monarch, that he quitted the *Triple-Alliance*, and declar'd open War to the *Hollanders*.

Having equipp'd a Gallant Fleet, the ſame was joyn'd by the *French* in the Channel, and the *Dutch* threatned with a moſt powerful Invaſion by Sea; but the Enemies had ſecured themſelves ſo well at Sea, and had provided a Fleet ſo numerous, and well mann'd, that when the Fleets of both Crowns engaged them on the 7th of *June*, they could, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate Fight, boaſt of no other advantage, than to have chaſed them towards their own Coaſts, and made them retire to their own Ports.

The Propoſitions of Peace made by the two Kings were look'd upon by the *Dutch* as ſo extravagant and intolerable, that they reſolved rather to bury themſelves in their own Ruins, than to purchaſe the Peace at ſuch a Rate. Being therefore reduced to that Extremity as to be forced to take ſuch Meaſures as were moſt ſuitable to their preſent deſperate Condition, they had recourſe to their Sluces and Dikes, which they opened and pierced through in many places, and put the Country under Water, to ſerve them as a Barricado againſt their Enemies, who were upon the Point of ſnatching from them their ſo much admir'd Liberty: The Remedy appear'd ſo dangerous in the Eyes of all the World, that the moſt conſidered it to be of worſe conſequence than the Evil they feared; but nevertheleſs it proved the real cauſe of their Safety.

For

For our King finding all his Measures broken by this insurmountable Obstacle left *Holland*, leaving the Duke of *Luxemburgh* to Command in his Absence, with Orders to take the opportunity of the approaching Winter, to push on his Conquests with all the vigour imaginable, under the favour of the Frosts and Ice. At his Return into *France*, the People charmed with his Presence after so Glorious a Campaign, received him in Triumph, and accompanied him through all places where-ever he pass'd, with all the joyful Acclamations and Vows due to a Conqueror.

The *Dutch* Troops having taken new Courage after the King's Departure, Besieged *Voerden* under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, with fourteen Thousand Men. All the Country round about it lay under Water, there being only one Passage left to approach it, which was a Dike on the side of *Utrecht*. To cut off from the Town all Communication and hopes of Succours, the Prince had caused two Forts to be erected on each side of the Dike, and betwixt both a Battery strengthened with a good Intrenchment. But all these Fortifications were not strong enough to frighten the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who after the Siege had lasted two Months, advancing early in the Morning, attack'd them in the Front; but being repulsed there, he was so far from giving over his Design, that having caused the Depth of the Waters to be sounded, and finding them not above four Foot deep in a certain place which he judged convenient for the Attack, he led his Men with a mar-

marvellous Reſolution through the Waters, and taking them in Flank made himſelf Maſter of one of their Quarters on that ſide, from whence aſſaulting the Forts, he took them not without a great Slaughter on the Enemies ſide, who being obliged to raiſe the Siege, the Duke provided the place with a ſufficient Garriſon, and marched back again to *Utrecht*, with a conſiderable Booty, and a good number of Priſoners of War.

The Prince of Orange *raiſes the Siege of* Voerden.

The braveſt and moſt couragious Action that ever was undertaken, eſpecsally if it be conſidered, that the Duke had not above three Thouſand Men with him, by reaſon that he was not joyn'd by ſome Troops which he expected to have met him in his March according to Orders, and becauſe that the *French* Troops were not very numerous at that time thereabouts, the Viſcount of *Turenne* having lately been reinforced from thence with a good Body of the beſt Regiments, to obſerve the Motions of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

War with the Elector of Brandenburgh

The more all the Neighbouring Princes were ſurprized at the ſtupendious progreſs of the King's Arms, the more they judged it for their Intereſts to put a ſtop to his Conqueſts. It is not to be imagined that it was ſo much out of Compaſſion, or the Conſideration of the deplorable Condition, to which this ſo flouriſhing and potent Commonwealth had been reduced within the ſpace of two Months, that made them take theſe Meaſures to prevent its ruine by their aſſiſtance; but their own Fears and Jealouſies, which repreſented to them *Europe* in Chains, and as a Vaſſal of

France, if the King should Conquer the *United Provinces*; what Wonder then if all were ready to lend a helping hand to preserve that from whence depended in a great measure their own Safeties; whilst some therefore endeavoured to obtain their aim by secret Intrigues, others presented themselves with their Swords in Hand.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was the first who shew'd himself most concern'd for the Preservation of the *Dutch*, whether it was that their Money had had more influence over him than the rest, and made him more Zealous for their Interest; or whether it were that he was dissatisfied at our King for not restoring to him some Places, which belonged to him, and were taken by our Troops from the *Dutch*, I will not pretend to determine. It is unquestionable that he was a Prince very aspiring and ambitious, one of the bravest Men living, and of great Experience in Martial Affairs, who maintain'd at that time an Army of twenty five Thousand Men, who wanted to be employed some where or other. Add to this the Sollicitations of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, who earnestly intreated him to employ his Forces for the Relief of *Holland*, which might serve as the most effectual means in the World to establish his Reputation among them. So sure it is that all the Ties of Consanguinity are weak, if not strengthned and link'd together by Interest. The *Hollanders* offered to one of the Elector's Sons all the Dignities belonging to the Prince of *Orange* in *Holland*, if that Family should happen to be extinct; the Prince of *Orange* was of a weak Con-

Conſtitution, and Unmarried at that time, who expoſed his Perſon unto the hazard of War upon a thouſand occaſions. Theſe glorious Hopes, tho very remote, a good Sum of ready Money, and the Glory of being the firſt that had ſo much Courage as to oppoſe the Victorious Arms of our King, and conſequently to prove the Deliverer of ſo great and famous a Commonwealth, all theſe Conſiderations, I ſay, joyn'd together, induced the Elector to declare againſt *France*.

The number of his Forces was very conſiderable in compariſon of ours at a time when the King having been obliged to diſperſe moſt of his Troops in his late Conqueſts, which amounted to fifty or threeſcore ſtrong places, there was but a ſlender ſhare left to keep the Field. So ſoon as we received Intelligence that the Elector's Army was ready to march, the Viſcount *de Turenne* was ordered to march with all ſpeed to meet him on the other ſide of the *Rhine* with his ſmall Army, conſiſting only of twelve Thouſand Men; the Elector's Army by ſeveral Reinforcements, was near thirty five thouſand. But if the Elector was ſtronger in number of Men, the Viſcount was ſuperiour in Officers, and ſuch as were all true Soldiers, who being all choſen Men, and fluſh'd with their late good Succeſs, did breath after nothing ſo much, as freſh opportunity of acquiring new Glory.

No ſooner had the Elector been advertiſed of our March, but he firſt made a Halt, and perceiving that the Viſcount intended to expect his coming, he retreated, and repaſſed the River *Weſer*; if it was a Surprize to all the World to

ſee the Elector fly from an Army much inferiour in number to his, it was the more aſtoniſhing to ſee the *French* purſue him over the *Weſer*, with an incredible Swiftneſs, to force all the Places that durſt oppoſe them, to ravage the flat Country, and to take up their Winter-Quarters in his Territories.

Siege of Charleroy

In the mean while the Prince of *Orange* having got together an Army of near fourſcore Thouſand Men, was advanced towards *Maſtrick*, with an intention to free in ſome meaſure his own Country from the Burthen of the War, by carrying it into another; for which purpoſe after ſeveral Marches and Countermarches, ſeeming to threaten ſometimes *Tongres*, ſometimes *Maſtrick*, he at laſt Beſieged *Charleroy*, a place ſituate upon the *Sambre*, and of no ſmall conſequence to us, by reaſon of its moſt convenient ſituation to conduct our Convoys and Recruits into *Holland*.

The *Spaniards*, tho they had very lately given the King freſh aſſurances of their ſincere Intentions, and that they deſired nothing ſo much as to cultivate a good Underſtanding with him, nevertheleſs had furniſhed ten Thouſand Men for the better carrying on of this Enterprize.

The Place was at that time unprovided with a ſufficient Garriſon to make a vigorous Defence, the Governour was abſent, and the *French* had no Army ready at hand to relieve it, ſo that every thing ſeem'd to concur for the advantage of the Prince of *Orange*, who, it was believ'd, would be Maſter of the place in eight Days. But our King in the ſame moment

ment he received the News of the Siege, dispatch'd his Orders into *Flanders*, to assemble his Troops with all possible speed, he himself left *Versailles* in a few Days after to hasten their March, and to put himself at the Head of them in order to relieve the Place.

The Rumour of the King's Departure being soon spread in the Enemies Camp, struck such a Terrour among them, that without more ado they raised the Siege. *Siege of Charleroy raised.*

This was a killing stroak to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who being in hopes that by so powerful a Diversion the face of Affairs would soon change for the better on his side, and that the *French* would be obliged to recal their Troops out of his Territories, in order to succour *Charleroy*; but finding himself absolutely disappointed in his Expectation, he took other Measures and sued for Peace. The King, to make him sensible of his Errour, kept him in suspense for two or three Months, in the mean while that his Troops consumed all what was left in the Countries of *Marck* and *Ravensbergh*. This obliged the Elector to be more pressing than ever for a Peace, which he at last obtain'd from the King, who in consideration of his Submission granted him more than he could have expected to have got by the War, and his own Courage. For the King promised to restore to him, within a certain time limitted, all the Places belonging to him in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, which was executed accordingly in the next following Year; but the Treaty was but little observed on the Elector's side, who was no sooner got into possession

sion of these Places, but took up Arms again, and declared against *France*.

After the Conclusion of this Treaty, the King having now laid aside his design of Conquering *Holland*, nevertheless had taken a Resolution to make himself Master of *Maestricht*, at the beginning of this Campaign, knowing it to be one of the main Bull-works of the *Dutch*.

This City has been famous ever since the last Age, when it was first surrounded with a good Fortification, by the Duke of *Alva*, afterwards taken by the Forces of the States, and retaken by Storm by the Duke of *Parma*, and in the Year 1632. once more taken by the *Dutch*, after a Siege of two Months. Its situation is one of the most convenient in the World, being built on purpose to keep the whole Province of *Brabant*, the Bishoprick of *Liege*, the Country of *Limburgh*, *Cleves* and *Gueldres* in awe, which together with the Fertility of the adjacent Country, its Traffick, Number and Industry of the Inhabitants, has made it at all times to be considered as the Key and Bullwork of all the circumjaceat Provinces, which has been the reason the *Dutch* have not been sparing in any thing which might add to its strength. It is situate upon the *Meuse*, which separates it from the Suburbs called the *Wick*, very well fortify'd and joyn'd to the City by a Stone-Bridge. The Body of the Place, to the Land-side, is fortify'd with the finest and most regular Fortifications that are to be seen in all *Flanders*, with Ravelins, Demilines, and many Hornworks, all secured with deep Ditches. Their Magazines were at that time

Description of Maestricht.

time well provided with all things neceſſary to ſuſtain a Siege. There was in the Place without counting the Inhabitants that were capable of bearing Arms, a Garriſon of ſix or ſeven thouſand Men of their beſt Troops, under the Command of an old Officer, whoſe Name was *Fariaux*, a Man no leſs Brave than expert in all Matters relating to the Defence of a Place of ſuch importance; and the States ſeem'd to be reſolved to Sacrifice every thing for the preſervation of it. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of all theſe Advantages, this ſtrong City ſo couragiouſly defended, was not able to hold out againſt the King above thirteen Days.

Siege of Maſtricht

For the King was no ſooner arrived in the Camp, but having taken an exact view of the whole ſituation of the Place, he ordered immediately the Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation to be made, and aſſigned the Quarters for their Batteries. Five of theſe were in a condition to play within three Days, and the Lines perfected much about the ſame time, tho the Lines of Circumvallation contained eight Leagues in Circuit, and that both of them were ten Foot high, and twelve broad. The next following Day the Trenches being opened, they advanced the firſt Night within a ſmall diſtance from the convert way. It is next to an impoſſibility to conceive with what diſpatch Matters were carried on in this Siege. But it muſt alſo be confeſs'd, that if the King's Subjects were not ſparing in their Labour, and undergoing all the Fatigues that can be imagined; he on his ſide gave ſuch Proofs of his Valour, Liberality and Con-

duct, that all the World must acknowledge him to be worthy to Command such brave Fellows. For he appear'd every where, order'd the Attacks in Person, animating them by his Presence, by his Liberality, Praises and Promises of Rewards; he never rested all Night, not going to Sleep till Six a Clock in the Morning, and getting again on Horseback immediately after Dinner. Amongst the Variety of Business which distracted his Thoughts without intermission, in an Enterprize of such consequence, he was never forgetful to enquire after the State of the Wounded Souldiers, and would sometimes take his Round among them from Tent to Tent, even of the Common Soldiers, to see whether they stood in want of any thing for their Subsistence or Recovery. The King having thereby gained the Hearts of all the Soldiery, as his Liberality and Promises had raised their Courage, they were ready to Sacrifice every thing for his Service, which was the reason that the Siege advanced so successfully, notwithstanding the Besieged did all that could be expected from Mortal Men to defend themselves against us, the Governour being not sparing either of his Soldiers or Workmen, who seem'd to outdo the *French* in repairing their Breaches, and placing new Pallisado's instead of those ruin'd by our Cannon.

But the most memorable Action was performed in the two Attacks made at once upon the Counterscarp; and it may be said without the least Contradiction to truth, that never was a more dreadful Night known since the Memory of Man; for what with

with the continual Fire from the Fire-locks, Cannon, Mortars, and Hand-Granado's, what with the Cries and Lamentations of the fighting and wounded Soldiers, what with the Horrour and Slaughter which lasted from the Evening till Break of Day, it is confess'd by the consent of all the most experienced Officers there present, that never any thing was seen like it before. Both Attacks were carried on with equal Bravery, and by the confession of both Parties, both the Assailants and Besieged, gave a thousand Proofs of their Valour, which were for the most part buried by the obscurity of the Night.

The *Granadeers* followed by the *Grand Musqueteers*, all brave young Fellows, and eager after Fighting, began the Attack, and were received with an unparallell'd Bravery by the Besieged, the Governour having posted there all the chosen Men of the whole Garrison, and a good number of Volunteers, who had thrown themselves in on purpose to signalize themselves upon so extraordinary an occasion. Thus the Engagement lasted with equal Bravery on both sides, till the Besieged were forced out of a Half-moon; this was taken and re-taken three times in four and twenty Hours, before the *French* could secure themselves in it against the furious Attacks of the Enemy. Two Days after, they took also from them the Horn-work, which the Governour *Fariau* endeavoured to regain, but with so ill success, that having caused a small Mine to be sprung in hopes to ruine ours, it sprung backwards, and carried five hundred of his Men up into the Air.

This

This new disaster, the fear of being Plundered, and the Miserable Condition into which the whole place was reduced by our Cannon and Bombs, made the Inhabitants resolve upon a Capitulation: Having accordingly made their Address to the Governour, he refused to hearken to it, but they earnestly insisting upon their Demand, he answer'd, *That he was resolved to hold it out to the last Extremity.* But after a little while dreading a double Misfortune, to wit, the effects of the enraged Multitude, and of the Enemy, he thought it more prudent to Capitulate upon Honourable Terms, than to expose the Garrison, of which there was but one third part remaining fit for Service, to the Slaughter; accordingly he beat a Parley, after having defended the place thirteen Days after opening of the Trenches, with all the Conduct and Courage that could be expected from a brave Officer.

Maestricht Surrendred

The Garrison marched out with Drums beating, Matches lighted, and two pieces of Cannon, the King being not unwilling to grant these Honourable Terms to Men that had behaved themselves with so much Bravery.

The taking of *Maestricht* would in all likelihood have been followed by the Conquest of *Boisleduc* and all the other places of the *Dutch Brabant*, if the Storm that arose on the *German* side had not drawn the King that way.

The German War.

To disperse these Clouds, or at least to prevent their Effects, the King, after having given his Orders for the repairing the Fortifications

tions of *Maſtricht*, ſet forth on his Journey to *Nancy*, where he likewiſe order'd the Fortifications to be put in a State of defence, which was put in execution with incredible Diligence in leſs than three Weeks; at the ſame time he ſecured *Colmar* and *Schleſtadt* in his Intereſt, where, as it was believed, the *Imperialiſts* had a ſecret Correſpondence; and having obliged the City of *Strasburgh* by his approach to embrace a Neutrality, he poſſeſt himſelf of the City of *Treves*, to be even with that Elector for the Breach of his Word, and to make it a frontier place, to cover his Dominions on that ſide. Theſe ſo neceſſary Precautions proved of ſuch conſequence afterwards to his Affairs, that among all thoſe Enemies that were ingaged in a League againſt him, during the ſpace of five Years, whilſt the War laſted, and threatned to Invade his Country, none of them could boaſt to have been able to enter his Dominions with ſo much as one ſingle Squadron.

League betwixt the Emperour, Spain, and Holland.

The *Dutch* Money, of which they were very prodigal in moſt Courts of *Europe*, and the Intrigues of their Miniſters, who had every where raiſed great fears and jealouſies againſt the King, had at laſt drawn the Emperor and *Spain* into their Party, who having concluded an Offenſive League with them, the Emperor brought together an Army of thirty thouſand Men, which he ordered to march towards the *Rhine*. At their approach the Viſcount of *Turenne*, who was General of the King's Army on that ſide, met them as far as in *Franconia*, in hopes to draw them to a Battle; but they being careful in avoiding

voiding an Engagement, the Viſcount could not prevent them from paſſing the *Rhine*, in conjunction with the Prince of *Orange*, and beſieging *Bonn*.

This place was without a Ditch, its Fortifications being not quite brought to perfection, notwithſtanding which, the *French* Governor, with his Garriſon, conſiſting only of fifteen hundred Men, defended himſelf ſo valiantly againſt ſo powerful an Army, compoſed of three ſeveral Nations, that they did not become Maſters of it, till after a fourteen Nights Siege. As the Conqueſt of this City, as well as that of *Naerden*, a ſmall but well Fortified Place in *Holland*, taken from us in the foregoing Month of *September*, by the Prince of *Orange*, ſeem'd to be the happy Fore-runners of the good ſucceſs of this Alliance, ſo the Emperor and *Spain* flatter'd themſelves with the hopes of all thoſe Advantages which the *Dutch* Miniſters had put them in hopes of when they enter'd into the League.

Siege of Bonn.

The Emperor enter'd into the Alliance not only upon that ſcore, as having in view thereby to put a ſtop to the greatneſs of *France*, which if it ſhould over-run *Holland* and the Low-Countries, would, like an impetuous Torrent ſpread all over *Germany*, but as looking upon this as a favourable juncture to encreaſe his Authority in the Empire. It is very well known that for a conſiderable time paſt, it has been the main deſign of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to make themſelves abſolute in *Germany*, by reducing theſe Princes under their Obedience; This ſeem'd to be the moſt Critical juncture that could be, to put this ſo long

long projected design in execution; the Kings Conquests in *Holland*, and his taking the City of *Treves*, were the most plausible pretences in the World to bring a good Army into *Germany*, without giving any suspicion to these Princes, whom they hop'd to ruin one after another, by drawing them into the Quarrel, under the glorious pretext of taking up Arms for the defence of the Empire.

As for what concern'd the *Spaniards*, they were cajol'd into a League by the fair promises of the *Dutch*, who offer'd no less than the Restitution of *Maestrick*, after it should be retaken, and engaged themselves not to make either Peace or Truce with us, before the *French* King should have surrender'd to them all what he had taken from them since the *Pyrenean* Peace. A meer Tinsey wherewith to dazzle the Eyes of the *Spaniards*, their intention being, to keep no further to their promises, than they should find it suitable to their own Interest; as it sufficiently appear'd at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, when they oblig'd the *Spaniards* to accept of the same Propositions as they were projected by our King.

The Alliance of so many powerful Princes seem'd to foretel something extraordinary against *France*; but thinking themselves not in a condition to undertake any thing of moment, unless strengthen'd by the Power of *England*, they left no stone unturn'd all that Winter, to bring that King over to their side. But all their great offers, and fair promises, would have proved fruitless upon this King, who stood immoveable in his Resolution of adhering to our Interest, if at last some of the

the Parliament Men, who being perhaps overcome with the charms of the *Dutch* Gold, had not preſſed ſo hard upon that King, that being no longer able to reſiſt their importunities, he made Peace with the *Hollanders*, without declaring againſt *France*.

Peace betwixt England *and* Holland.

Our King was no conſiderable loſer by the concluſion of this Peace, his chiefeſt loſs conſiſting in the recalling of a few *Engliſh* Troops; for what had been concerted betwixt theſe two Kings about a Deſcent to be made upon the *Dutch* Coaſt, had been found impracticable, they having been ſufficiently convinced by Experience, that nothing of great moment ought to be expected from Sea Engagements, as to the deciſion of the Fate of a War; witneſs thoſe three ſeveral Sea fights betwixt the Fleets of the two Kings, and that of the *Dutch*, in all which, the ballance appear'd ſo little different, that it was no eaſie matter to determine which of them ought with Juſtice carry away the Honour of the Victory, there having been ſcarce any other advantage obtained on either ſide, but to make a great noiſe without doing any conſiderable hurt. Thus the *Hollanders* imagined, that being now Maſters at Sea, they could not want an opportunity of ravaging our Coaſts, and to make themſelves Maſters of ſome places in *France*; but they have been ſufficiently convinc'd by their ill Succeſs, that unleſs an Enemy be aſſured of a good Port, it is a very difficult task to make a Deſcent, and cannot be undertaken without vaſt Charges, which ſcarce ever quit coſt.

How-

However, the Peace betwixt *England* and *Holland* appear'd to be the Signal to all the other Princes of *Germany*, who now began to throw off the mask one after another, and declar'd againſt us, except the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Duke of *Hanover*, who continued ſtedfaſt in their Neutrality. For the Electors of *Saxony*, *Mayence*, of *Treves*, and the Elector *Palatin*, as well as the Landtgraves of *Heſſe*, and Princes of *Baden*, with moſt of the Circles of *Germany* did immediately take up Arms in favour of the Alliance. The Elector of *Cologne*, and Biſhop of *Munſter*, left our Party, to embrace that of the Allies; and tho' the King of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* did not immediately declare againſt *France*, yet did they engage in the Alliance from that time, and promiſed to put themſelves in a poſture of aſſiſting and promoting the common cauſe.

Germany and Denmark enters into a League.

Now it was that the *Hollanders* had all the reaſon in the World to rejoyce at their good Succeſs, ſeeing they had by their good Management transferred the Burthen of the War from their own into their Neighbours Countries; the King, ſurrounded on all ſides by his Enemies, which the *Dutch* had raiſed againſt him, having been obliged to abandon all his Conqueſts in the *United Provinces*, (except *Grave* and *Maſtricht*, which ſerved to bridle them) to make uſe of theſe Garriſons againſt the numerous Armies of the Allies. Notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, the *States* deſired nothing ſo much as Peace, conſidering that having now recovered what they had loſt,

loſt, it would be very hard for them to maintain at their own Charge a War, where now they had no further Intereſt, but what they had in common with their Allies.

After a whole Twelve Months Debate about a Peace, all Parties concern'd having at laſt accepted the Mediation of the King of *Sweden*, ſent their *Plenipotentiaries* to *Cologne*, the place appointed for the carrying on of the Treaty. The Conferences were frequently interrupted by ſeveral Accidents, and new Difficulties which ariſe from time to time, the *Plenipotentiaries* of the *States-General* applied themſelves with great Aſſiduity, and were not without hopes of bringing this grand Affair to a happy Concluſion, if the Emperour, who was for continuing the War, had not cauſed Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg* (ſince made Cardinal) to be ſeized by force in the open Streets, without the leaſt Reſpect to his Character, he being *Miniſter* and *Plenipotentiary* of the Arch-biſhop of *Cologne*, and carried him afterwards Priſoner to *Vienna*. He alſo cauſed a Houſe to be Pillaged about fourteen Days after, where there was ſome Money belonging to the *French* King, and refuſing to give any reaſonable Satisfaction for theſe Outrages, the Conferences broke off, and both ſides renewed their Preparations with more vigour than ever for the proſecution of the War.

All *Europe* ſtood in expectation of the ſucceſs of this War, there being very few but what were of Opinion, that the King would be forced to be upon the defenſive, foraſmuch as it was ſufficiently known, that the Allies had

had entred into a mutual Engagement not to hearken to any Peace, unleſs *Lorrain* were reſtored to that Duke, *Alſace* to the Emperour, and to *Spain* all what had been taken from them ſince the *Pyrenean* Peace. But they were not ſatisfied thus, they had laid their Deſigns to invade *Burgundy*, *Picardy* and *Champaign*, and to ravage as far as to the very Gates of *Paris*; but thoſe vaſt Projects were leſs difficult to be conceived, than to be put in execution.

The Campaign of 1674.

For whilſt the Allies were concerting meaſures, and buoying up one another with theſe Chimera's, the King laid a real Deſign to make himſelf once more Maſter of the *Franche Compte*, thereby to cover his Frontiers, which lay almoſt expoſed on that ſide, to encourage his Subjects by ſome great Enterprize, and to make his Enemies ſenſible, that he was in a condition not only to defend himſelf, but alſo to act offenſively againſt them. When the *State* is threatned by ſome great and imminent danger, it muſt needs be oppreſs'd under the weight of it, unleſs the Prince do uphold and cheriſh his Subjects by his good Conduct and firm Reſolution; for if the Head prove defective, the Functions of the whole Body begin to ceaſe.

When the *Spaniards* declared War againſt us, the King propoſed a Neutrality for that Province, and the *Swiſs Cantons* did all what in them lay to ſecond the King's Endeavours, as being unwilling to ſee a Province bordering ſo near upon them to become the Seat of War; but the Allies refuſed to accept the King's offer, which in lieu of proving advan-

tageous to them caused the loss of it, or at least facilitated the King's Conquests there; the *Cantons* being exasperated at their refusal, having not only given their Consent for the King to attempt the Reduction of it, but also denied a Passage to those Troops that were intended for its relief. This was the only Obstacle the King had to surmount, or at least the most difficult; for tho the *Spaniards*, since the Conclusion of the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, had re-fortified most of their Places, yet it was look'd upon as a much harder task to dispose a Free People to give their consent that a Potent and Victorious King should settle himself in their Neighbourhood, than to conquer two or three strong Holds, that were without hopes of relief.

Conquest of the Franche Compte.

Accordingly the King ordred his Troops to march into the *Franche Compte*, who immediately in the Month of *February* made themselves Masters of *Gray* and *Vesoul*, besides many other small Places. But this being only the beginning of the Fray, the rest was reserved for the King's coming in Person. For *Besancon* being invested by his Forces in *May* following, the King came himself into the Camp, his Presence being absolutely necessary there, to qualifie the Minds of the Soldiers, who were forced to undergo incredible Hardships in this Siege. It was extream bad Weather when the Court set out for the *Camp*, and grew almost insupportable soon after, which continued thus to the end of the Siege. The great Rains that fell without intermission, the high Winds and cold Nights, the Waters that overflowed the Trenches, and the whole Camp,

Siege of Besancon.

Camp, where the Soldiers ſtood Knee deep in Mud and Dirt; all theſe Fatigues would queſtionleſs have tired out the Patience of the Soldiers, if the King who expoſed his Perſon to the ſame Hardſhips had not by his Example and Liberality upheld their drooping Courage.

Beſancon is ſituate in a ſmall Plain upon a very ill Ground, ſo rocky and full of Stones, that we had much ado to carry on our Trenches. It is divided into the higher and lower Town, the laſt is ſurrounded by the River *Doux*, which ſerves for a Ditch, and being at that time overflown by the frequent Rains, did extreamly annoy us in the carrying on of our Trenches. The place was provided with a Garriſon of four Thouſand Men, one half being of the Militia, beſides a good number of Volunteers, all under the Command of an Old and Brave Officer. Notwithſtanding all this, they made but a ſlender Defence, the Citadel it ſelf which was eſteemed impregnable, not being able to hold out above eight Days. This Citadel was newly fortified on the very point of a Rock very near perpendicular on all ſides, having no more than one Avenue leading to the top, which was well fortified with ſeveral Intrenchments, ſtrengthned with Baſtions and Half-Moons.

The place however had this diſadvantage belonging to it, that it was commanded by two adjacent Rocky Hills, but of ſo ſteep and difficult an Aſcent, that in all humane appearance, it was impoſſible to bring any Cannon to the tops of them. As they lay on the back

ſide of the Citadel and within full reach of the Cannon, the King went in Perſon to view them. The Attempt ſeem'd to be the boldeſt and moſt dangerous that ever was undertaken, but Nature having not framed any thing unacceſſible to the Couragious, the King commanded, That all the Night long, by the light of a great number of Torches and Links, they ſhould draw up the Cannon to the top of one of theſe Hills, and he did not ſtir from thence till he ſaw it put in execution. The Beſieged ſurprized at the boldneſs of the Enterprize, however ply'd them warmly with their Cannon; but in ſpite of their Fire, which play'd without intermiſſion, they continued their Work, and raiſed a Battery which the next following Day began to play againſt the Citadel.

The inſide being all built of Stone, the Cannon Bullets made a moſt terrible havock in a Fort which was of no great compaſs, ſo that you might ſee at every moment the Stones fly about as thick as Hail, which did great execution among the Garriſon, many of whom were ſlain by the Stones, the reſt not daring to appear but in the Night time. Thus the Out-Works being taken in a few Days, the Governour was forced to Capitulate.

After the taking of *Beſancon*, the King laid Siege to *Dole*, the Fortifications of which place being not quite brought to perfection, it did hold out not above nine Days. *Salins* defended it ſelf ſeven Days, and the ſtrong Caſtle of St. *Anne*, which was hitherto eſteemed inacceſſible, beat a Parly as ſoon as a Battery erected upon vaſt Wooden-Piles, began

gan to thunder againſt it. Thus the King conquered the whole *Franche Compte* in four or five Weeks.

After the Conqueſt of this Province, he divided his Army, one part being ſent into *Germany* to reinforce the Viſcount of *Turenne*; and the greateſt part into *Flanders* to joyn the Army commanded by the Prince of *Conde*. Then he returned into *France*, to ſuppreſs by his Preſence ſome Cabals, which it was ſuſpected had been ſet on foot by the Allies in ſome of the Maritime Provinces. The Kingdom was at that time threatned on all ſides; it was in no ſmall danger of being Invaded on the *German* ſide: The Allies had three Armies in the Field in *Flanders* and *Spain*, another in *Catalonia*; and to make ſure Work, the *Dutch* threatned either to make a Deſcent upon us, or at leaſt to Bombard ſome of our Seaport-Towns. But all theſe vaſt Deſigns vaniſhed into Smoak; for our Frontiers remained unattempted all this Campaign, and the King had taken ſuch ſure Meaſures, that the Allies had nothing elſe to boaſt of, but of their own Diſgrace, having been defeated by the King's Troops much inferiour in number to theirs.

They were no leſs than threeſcore Thouſand effective Men in *Flanders*, all ſelect and old well-diſciplin'd Troops; whereas the King's Army commanded by the Prince of *Conde*, did conſiſt only of forty Thouſand Men. The Enemy advanced towards him, but he was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they did not judge it adviſable to attack him; thus failing in their aim, they decamped. The *Battle of Seneff.*

Germans cammanded by the General *de Souches* had the Van-guard; the main Battle was made up out of the *Dutch* Forces under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*; the *Spaniards* Commanded by the Count *de Monterey* Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, had the Inner Guard, being covered in their March by a Body of five Thouſand Horſe, detach'd from the ſeveral Bodies of the three Nations. The Prince of *Conde*, who was adviſed that in their March they were obliged to paſs ſeveral Lanes, judged not without reaſon, that as they paſs'd through theſe Defiles, they muſt march at ſuch a diſtance, as not to be able to ſecond one another timely enough, in caſe of an Attack. Looking therefore upon it as a moſt favourable opportunity to fall in with them, he was reſolved not to let it ſlip out of his Hands.

Having therefore ſuffered the *Imperialiſts* and *Hollanders* to paſs the Defiles unmoleſted, he charged the *Spaniards* ſo furiouſly, that he abſolutely routed them, taking many Standards and Colours, and a great many Priſoners, among whom were ſeveral of Quality. This firſt Victory did not coſt the King above an Hundred, or an Hundred and fifty Men, whereas the Enemy loſt above three Thouſand; a happy Days Work, if the Prince could have been contented with his good Succeſs! But having afterwards Attack'd the main Body, and likewiſe brought them in Confuſion, matters ſeem'd to tend to a total Rout, if the *Imperialiſts* had not found means to come to their relief. The Flying Enemy having got leiſure in the mean while

to

to Rally, and the three Generals to put their ſeveral Bodies in order of Battel, upon an Eminency, being cover'd with Buſhes, Hedges and Ditches, and Cannon planted on all the Avenues, the face of Affairs began to change, and the Fight was renewed with more obſtinacy and fury than before. The Enemies were poſted in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible to come to Handy Blows with them, without ſuſtaining the Fire of their whole Infantry; but the greater the Danger, the greater the Honour; all this it ſeems was not ſufficient to ſtartle the Invincible Courage of the Prince of *Conde*, nor to terrifie his Soldiers fluſh'd with Succeſs, but being reſolved to compleat this Days Work by a third Victory, they fell on with incredible Bravery. As Deſpair is the moſt powerful Motive to inſpire Courage even in the Faint-hearted, ſo the Enemy defended themſelves with great Obſtinacy; the Engagement laſted from Noon till Night, and the Slaughter did not ceaſe on both ſides, till Moon-light about Ten or Eleven a Clock at Night. The Enemy took few of ours Priſoners, and among them ſcarce any Body of note; but we loſt abundance of brave Men and Officers, ſeven or eight Standards, and had about five or ſix Thouſand killed and wounded. The loſs of the Enemy amounted to above ſeven or eight Thouſand; we took near five Thouſand Priſoners, among whom were four Princes of the Empire, a great number of other Perſons of Quality, many of their Colonels, and two Hundred Officers; an Hundred and ſeven Standards and Colours, three Field-pieces, two Mortars,

several Kettle-Drums, Pontons, three Thousand Waggons, with all their Ammunition, and three hundred Thousand Crowns in ready Money, design'd for the Payment of their Armies.

Siege of Oudenarde.

About a Month after, they laid Siege to *Oudenarde*, but no sooner had they got notice that the Prince of *Conde* was marching to its relief, but they quitted the Siege with so much Precipitation, that they left behind them in their Trenches part of their Baggage and Ammunition, besides most of their Utensils used in carrying on of the Trenches.

Siege of Grave.

Another Army composed of the *Dutch* Forces, and joyn'd by some *Brandenburgh* Troops, were for two Months together buried in the Siege of *Grave*. The City of *Grave* is considerable for its strength, and was at that time very well provided with Ammunition, a good Artillery, and a numerous Garrison; but the Besiegers being surrounded on all sides by their own Country, had great plenty of every thing in their Camp, and the place being but small, there was little appearance it should hold out long, the Place being given over for lost by the *French*, without the least hopes of being able to relieve it. The *Dutch* had made many Attacks upon their outworks, but with so little success, that they were repulsed without being able to maintain themselves in any of these Posts. The Besieged made continual Sallies, nail'd up their Cannon, fill'd up their Trenches, kill'd abundance of their Men, and carried a great many Prisoners into the Town. Their bravery and resolution in undergoing with undaunted constancy

ſtancy all the Fatigues of War, the continual thundring of their Cannon, and their frequent Mines, which, for the moſt part, did great execution, had ſtruck ſuch a terror among the Beſiegers, that they Deſerted by whole Troops, and got into the Town.

To revive in ſome meaſure, the drooping Courage of the reſt, the Prince of *Orange* marched to their aſſiſtance with a Body of ten thouſand freſh Men, who being alſo repulſed in ſeveral Attacks, it was the general Opinion that the *Dutch*, would in all likelihood have been forced to quit the Enterpriſe, if the Governour, the Marquiſs of *Chamilly*, had not received Orders from our King to Capitulate, who, after he had given a thouſand Proofs of his Conduct and Courage, ſurrendred upon ſuch Conditions as he himſelf thought fit to propoſe; the Prince of *Orange* being willing enough to grant him any thing, partly in conſideration of his Bravery, partly for fear, leſt the Siege, by the obſtinate Defence of the Beſieged, ſhould protract, till Winter, when the Seaſon would oblige them to raiſe it. The Garriſon was extreamly diminiſhed, not ſo much by the Enemies Swords as by Sickneſs; and tho' they were ſtreightned for Proviſions, yet were they reſolved to have endured all the extremities, and bury themſelves under the Ruins of the Place, if the King, who would not ſuffer that ſo many brave Men ſhould Sacrifice themſelves for the defence of a Place, which he judged of no great conſequence to his Affairs, had not ſent them his Orders to Capitulate. The King had, at the beginning of the War, made himſelf

Maſter

Maſter of this Place without the loſs of one ſingle Man, but the *Dutch* did not take it till after a Siege of three Months, with a prodigious Charge, and the loſs of twelve thouſand Men; beſides, they run no ſmall hazard of coming off with diſgrace.

But they were leſs ſucceſsful in their Expedition at Sea this Year; they had near an hundred and fifty Men of War, and after the Peace with *England*, were become abſolute Maſters of the Ocean, the King having ſent moſt of his great Ships into the *Mediterranean*. One part of this great Fleet was ſent to endeavour the Conqueſt of the *French* Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, the reſt were to be employed in making a Deſcent upon our Coaſt; but the beſt concerted meaſures prove not always infallible.

For Admiral *Ruiter* did not ſucceed in his Enterpriſe againſt the Iſle of *Martinico*, and Admiral *Trump*, who for four or five Months threatned our Coaſts with a Deſent, did no other feats, but to Land in a ſmall Iſland, from whence he carried away ſome Cattel, and plunder'd a certain Abby. The ill ſucceſs of the Allies in this Campaign ſeem'd to be very ill preſages to the League, eſpecially if it be taken into conſideration, that the King's Arms were Crown'd with the ſame ſucceſs in ſeveral other places; for *Frederick* Duke of *Schomberg* had beaten the *Spaniards* in the Plains of *Ruſſilion*; as the Vicount of *Turenne* had been Victorious over the *Germans* in three or four ſeveral Encounters.

For

For, after he had prevented the Duke of *Lorrain* from paſſing the *Rhine*, and conſequently ſecur'd the King's Conqueſts on that ſide, he receiv'd Orders to hinder, if poſſible, the conjunction of the Duke with a Body of *Imperialiſts*, commanded by the *Imperial* General the Count of *Caprara*. Purſuant to theſe Orders he marched three Days and Nights without intermiſſion, and on the fourth came within ſight of the Enemy, whom he found ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it ſeem'd impoſſible to attack them without the greateſt hazard in the World. For they were drawn up in order of Battle upon a riſing Ground, being ſecured in the Front by a ſmall Town, with a deep Rivulet, and many Hedges and Ditches, all which muſt be paſs'd before they could be attack'd. But what is ſo ſtrong or inacceſſible to a Man who has an equal ſhare of Conduct and Courage?

To be ſhort, the Town was taken in leſs than two Hours, and the Enemies Infantry which defended it, either cut in pieces, or taken Priſoners. But this was only the Introduction to the reſt; our Troops were extreamly fatigued with ſo long a March, and the heat of the Seaſon; beſides that, the Enemy having the advantage of the Wind, they were incommoded with the Smoak and Duſt which almoſt choak'd them as they advanc'd towards the Enemy, where the Enemy ſtood ready to receive them: Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, they were reſolute in attacking them; the Viſcount of *Turenne*'s Army conſiſted of nine or ten thouſand Men, and that of the

the Duke of *Loerain* was near equal in number to his, with this difference only, that the laſt had more Horſe, the other exceeded in Foot. The firſt attack was made with equal bravery on both ſides, there being not a Squadron but what charged four or five times, and the Dukes Forces rallied and return'd to their charge ſeven or eight times, neither were they put to the rout till after a bloody and obſtinate Fight of eight Hours.

About three Weeks after, the Prince of *Bourneville* General of the *Imperial* Forces, being with a Body of ſeven or eight thouſand Men joyn'd to the broken remainders of the
July 6th. Confederate Army. The Viſcount of *Turenne* paſſed the River *Neckar* at *Ladenburgh*, in ſight of them, and followed them ſo cloſely, that he fell in with their Rear, which he put to the rout, forcing their Infantry to ſeek for ſhelter among the neighbouring Woods and Mountains; but their Horſe being briskly purſued by the *French*, did not face about till they came to *Franckfort*, twenty Leagues from thence, where being cover'd by the River *Maine*, the Viſcount could not purſue them any further; but they were ſcatter'd to that degree that they were not in a condition to appear again in the Field, till being reinforced with freſh Supplies and Troops from the Emperor, from the Elector *Palatin*, the Elector of *Cologne*, Biſhop of *Munſter*, Duke of *Wolfinbuttel*, and all the neighbouring Circles, they made up an Army of thirty five or thirty ſix thouſand Effective Men.

But this great Body was commanded by five Generals independant from one another, who being

being ſwayed by ſo many different Intereſts, did not agree in what meaſures to take; one being for the attempting the recovery of the Dukedom of *Lorrain*; another for the Siege of *Treves* or *Philipsburgh*; another for attacking the Viſcount of *Turenne* with their joynt Forces, thereby to retrieve their former diſgrace. The *French* Army was at that time not above fifteen thouſand ſtrong, but the renown of their General, and their late Victories had made them ſo dreadful to the Enemy, that they durſt not attempt to attack them.

With this ſmall Army he kept them in play for two Months together in the Lower-*Alſace*, till having at laſt receiv'd a reinforcement of ſome Regiments, he march'd directly againſt the Allies to give them Battle, before they could be joyn'd by the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Forces, and thoſe of the Duke of *Brunſwick*. The Name of the Viſcount of *Turenne* famous by ſo many Victories, was become ſo terrible to the Enemy, that moſt were of opinion they would ſcarce care to face him, but beyond all expectation they receiv'd him with all imaginable bravery, ſo that the fight was very obſtinate and dubious for ſome time, till at laſt, having brought them into confuſion, they were forc'd to quit the Field with the loſs of three thouſand Men, ten pieces of Cannon, and thirty Colours and Standards. The *French* were ſo eager in the purſuit, that the Enemies, to fly with the more conveniency, threw away their Cuiraſſes and Arms, of which there was a great quantity found all round about the Field of Battel.

Victory of Entſheim, Octob. 4.

This

This Action, as brave as it was, yet was not the moſt glorious of this Campaign: For the Allies having been joyn'd by the Troops of *Brandenburgh* and *Brunſwick Zell*, about the middle of *October*, were near threeſcore and ten Thouſand ſtrong in the Field; an Army ſo numerous, it was fear'd, would like a Deluge over-run all our Conqueſts on that ſide, but that the King, with an incredible Reſolution, without being in the leaſt ſurprized at their number, knew by his Prudence ſo to manage the Matter, that all their Deſigns turn'd to their own diſgrace.

For immediately after the raiſing of the Siege of *Oudenarde*, he had ordred a conſiderable Detachment from *Flanders* into *Germany*, to join with all poſſible ſpeed the Viſcount of *Turenne*; at the ſame time he diſpatch'd his Orders to him, to keep upon the Defenſive, and as much as poſſibly could be, to provide for the ſecurity of thoſe Places, which were of moſt conſequence.

The King wiſely foreſaw that this vaſt Multitude would ſoon be forced to diſperſe, by reaſon of the Diviſions that were among the Generals, for want of ſufficient Magazines, and the Incommodities of the Seaſon, which muſt needs occaſion many Diſeaſes among the Souldiers; or that at laſt whenever they ſhould come to ſeparate themſelves, there could not be wanting an opportunity to engage and vanquiſh them. Accordingly the Viſcount of *Turenne* quitted his Camp to ſecure a certain Port ſo convenient and commodious for its ſituation, that with his ſmall Army he conquered both *Haugenau* and *Saverne*.

verne. The Allies, who did not judge it adviſeable to attack him in this advantageous Poſt, marched directly into the *Upper Alſace*, with an intention to take up their Winter-Quarters in this Province, and ſo to march in the Spring directly either into *Lorrain*, or the *Franche Compte*; thus they lived at diſcretion for the ſpace of two Months, over ſecure in their own ſtrength, till the Viſcount of *Turenne* beat up their Quarters, and ſent them back to the other ſide of the *Rhine*.

After he had received the abovementioned Reinforcement from *Flanders*, his Army conſiſted of ſcarce five and twenty Thouſand Men; and tho he was ſufficiently informed of the ſtrength of the Allies, who had near three to one againſt him, he marched in the Month of *December*, taking a great compaſs about, as if he were retiring from before them, and ſhunning to come to an Engagement. Thus, in lieu of taking the direct Road, he marched through *Lorrain*, and having traverſed the Mountains without any other Obſtacle, but what proceeded from the natural ſituation of theſe Hills, and the inconveniencies of a far *Dec.* 29. advanced Seaſon, he entred the Plains, where he found the Enemies ſcattered up and down in a fatal Security, without the leaſt Apprehenſion of danger from an approaching Enemy; at the ſight of whom they were ſtruck with ſuch terrour, that they were above half vanquiſh'd before they were attack'd; fourteen *French* Squadrons (a thing incredible, if it were not unqueſtionable, that when an Army is ſeized with a ſudden and general Conſternation, they have no leiſure to reflect upon the

the number of the approaching Enemy) having passed the River *Illin*, a place which they found fordable, put their whole Cavalry to Flight.

Victory of Turkheim 5th Jan. 1675. Being recovered from their first Consternation, they resolved to stand the Brunt at a place call'd *Turkheim*, but with no better success than before, they being routed a second time, and forced to retreat in great confusion to the *Rhine*, which they repass'd on the 11th of *January*, in the Year 1675. there being not above twenty thousand left of that vast Army; the rest were either taken Prisoners, or perished by the Sword, Famine, Debaucheries, and Distempers.

Campaign of 1675. All these Victories as they were the happy Products of the King's Vigilancy, and the Bravery of his Soldiers, so they struck such a Terrour among his Enemies, that they were resolved to try their utmost, the next following Campaign. The King finding their Preparations suitable to their Designs, set out early in the Spring for the Army, and having ordred the Seige of *Dinant* and *Huy* after the Reduction of these two Places, the first by the Marshal de *Crequy*, the second by *Henry Lewis Dalemy de Rochfort*, likewise Marshal of *France*, the City of *Limburgh*, famous for its strength, and being the Capital of the Province of the same Name, was immediately Besieged by *Henry Julius* Duke of *Enguen*, since Prince of *Conde*, which was forced to surrender within eight Days after.

It is true, the Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, in conjunction with the Prince of *Orange*, marched to its Relief with an Army con-

consisting of fifty Thousand effective Men, but finding at their approach, that the place was surrendred, they retreated without doing any thing further that Campaign, than to consume all the Forage in *Brabant*, and to ruine their own Territories.

But *Germany* was the Theater of War, where the most glorious Actions were performed during this Campaign, Fortune seeming to keep an equal Balance betwixt Us and the Allies on that side. The Enemies Army upon the *Rhine* appearing more numerous in the Field than it had done any time since the beginning of this War. The last Campaign there had been so many Factions as there were Generals among them, that, to speak impartially, they were without a Head to Command them.

But now things appear'd with quite another Face, the whole Army being Commanded by the Count of *Montecuculi*, the same who two Years before had the chief Command of the *Imperial Army* upon the *Rhine*. He was an old and experienced General, very well versed in the whole Art, and all the Stratagems of War, always upon his Guard, whose Ambition was, not so much to gain any particular advantage upon his Enemy, as to bring a whole Campaign to a happy Conclusion.

The Viscount of *Turenne*, General of the King's Army on the *Rhine*, was not inferiour to him either in Experience, or any other Qualification belonging to a Great General; and it may be said without Flattery, that his Name was more famous, and his Reputation

better eſtabliſhed by an infinite number of glorious Actions, in all which he had given moſt ample demonſtrations to the World, that never any General was comparable to, or at leaſt never ſurpaſſed him in the Art of War. Among the moſt Renowned Heroes in former Ages, who by their great Actions and Conqueſts have rendred their Names ſo famous to Poſterity, there are few who can boaſt of the ſame Skill wherewith this Great General uſed to Diſcipline his Troops, to provide them with all Neceſſaries, and to make uſe of all Advantages to thwart the Deſigns of his Enemies.

It was without all queſtion a thing worth the notice and attention of all *Europe*, to ſee theſe two great Captains to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to outvie one another in their ſwift Marches, in their Encampments, and to make uſe of all the moſt refined Stratagems, to prevent one another from gaining the leaſt advantage. The Viſcount *de Turenne* had nevertheleſs the good Fortune to paſs the *Rhine* almoſt in ſight of the *Confederate Army*, which done, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſo advantageous a Poſt, that without the leaſt fear of being forced in his Entrenchments, he might cut off the neceſſary Convoys from the Enemy.

An Action ſo Glorious which had broken all the Meaſures of his Rival at one ſtroke, was look'd upon by all *Europe* to be equivalent to a Victory. But the Viſcount *de Turenne* not ſatisfied with this Advantage, unleſs he had alſo routed the *Confederate Army*, had encloſed them ſo narrowly on all ſides, that it

it was impoſſible for them to march off without coming to handy Blows.

In order to this he went out of his Camp on the 27th of *July* to view a certain place, where he intended to raiſe a Battery the better to annoy the Enemy, where he was unfortunately ſlain by a Cannon-ſhot, which ſtruck againſt his Breaſt, and laid him dead, upon the Ground. *The Death of the Marſhal de Turenne.*

Never was any General more univerſally lamented, neither did ever any one deſerve it better. He was a Perſon of extraordinary Merit, a Great Captain and excellent Politician; a Man equally modeſt and agreeable in Converſation, who deſpiſed Riches, and was an Enemy to Pride, who was never backward in doing all the good he could, and never known to do harm to any Body, all his Paſſion being directed to glorious Actions. It is not to be expreſs'd how ſenſibly the King was touch'd with the loſs of ſo great a Man, he heap'd Honours and Riches upon his Family; and to give the moſt ample Teſtimonies of the Value he put upon his paſs'd Services, and to Crown the Vertues of ſo great a Man with due Rewards, he cauſed moſt magnificent Obſequies to be made in the Church of *Paris*, and order'd his Corps to be depoſited in the Abbey of St. *Denys*, the ordinary Burying place of the Kings of *France*. But the greateſt ornament of the whole Funeral Pomp was the inexpreſſible ſorrow which appear'd in the Countenance of all the Chief Men of the Kingdom, and the everlaſting Memory of his great and Glorious Actions. *The Viſcount dyed without Children.*

But to return to the *Rhine*, the Viſcount *de Turenne* having not communicated his deſign to any of his Lieutenant-Generals, the Count *de Lorge*, his Nephew, afterwards made Duke, Peer and Marſhal of *France*, took upon him the Command of the Army, and immediately after his Death repaſs'd the *Rhine*, and intrench'd himſelf on the other ſide, till further Orders from the King. The Enemy during his Retreat, Attack'd him in the Rear, but were ſo vigorouſly received by the *French*, that they loſt above four thouſand Men upon this occaſion; nevertheleſs the Count *de Lorge* was not ſtrong enough to prevent *Montecuculi* from paſſing the *Rhine*, and marching into the *Lower Alſace*.

The *French* Army was at that time in a very ill Condition, in want of Proviſion and Forage, much diminiſh'd by Sickneſs and Mortality, and ſo dejected by the loſs of their General, that it was feared they would have been quite diſperſed, if the Prince of *Conde*, who by the King's Orders poſted in all haſte thither from *Flanders*, had not found means to raiſe their drooping Courage by his Preſence. Notwithſtanding which the Count of *Montecuculi* laid Siege to the City of *Hagenau* in *Auguſt*, and in the Month of *September* following ſat down before *Saverne*, but upon intelligence that the Prince was marching to their Relief, he quitted both theſe Enterprizes. At laſt towards the latter end of the Campaign, the *Imperialiſts* were obliged to repaſs the *Rhine*, and to take up their Winter-Quarters in the Confederate Territories.

But

But the Dukes of *Zell* and *Lorrain* had much better Succeſs in the Siege of *Treves*. For theſe Princes being advertized that the Marſhal *de Crequy*, at the Head of an Army, was marching to the Relief of the Place, left a good Body for the guard of their Trenches, and other Works, and march'd with a Body of near twenty Thouſand Men to meet the Enemy. The Marſhal had not above nine or ten Thouſand Men with him, notwithſtanding this inequality of their Number, he reſolved to try his Fortune. There are certain happy Moments, when we have known a handful of brave reſolute Fellows to have driven before them, and cut in pieces a whole Army, but theſe Fortunate Moments are ſo rare, that it is more expedient to relie upon the number and equality of our Troops, than upon theſe Accidents. *Siege of Treves.*

To be ſhort, this Day proved unfortunate to the Marſhal *de Crequy*; for his Infantry being ill ſeconded by the Cavalry, he was entirely defeated, and his ſmall Army put to the Rout, and diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that he himſelf, with only three more, was forced to ſhelter themſelves in an adjacent Wood, from whence he found means to get into *Treves*. He defended the place for three Weeks after with incredible Bravery againſt his Victorious Enemy, and would not hearken to any Propoſitions of Surrender, tho all the Out-works were taken, and that there were ſeveral large Breaches in the Walls of the Place. The Garriſon headed by ſome mutinous Officers, were ſo exaſperated at this deſperate Reſolution, that they reſolved to ca- *Defeat of the Marſhal* de Crequy

pitulate without him, and accordingly ſurrendred him, and many other of the *French* Officers to the Allies.

This being the firſt Campaign which ſince the beginning of this War had proved proſperous to the *Confederates*, they were ſo puffed up with their late Succeſs, that forgetting their former Misfortunes, and the many Advantages we had over them, they began to boaſt, that in the next Spring they intended to put their ſo long projected great deſign in execution.

But it was not long, before the King made them ſufficiently ſenſible, that by the loſs of a Place and four or five Thouſand Men, he was not become leſs powerful than before. For after having Beſieged and Taken the City of *Conde* by aſſault, towards the latter end of *April*, he ordred the Duke of *Orleans* to Beſiege *Bouchain*, whilſt he himſelf with the head Army covered the Siege to make head againſt the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould come to its relief. The Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and the Prince of *Orange* brought together a good Army, in order, as it was believed, to attempt the Relief of the Place; but judging it not adviſable to attack the King, they entrenched themſelves under the Cannon of *Valenciennes*, in hopes to meet with a favourable opportunity to throw ſome Supplies of Men and Proviſions into *Bouchain*, but they reap'd no other advantage by it, than to be Eye-Witneſſes of the Reduction of the Place. The King endeavoured by all means poſſible to bring them to a Battle, but they were as careful to avoid it, not having

Conde *taken* April *the* 26th.

ving made the leaſt motion, but remaining in their advantageous Station for two Months together, whilſt the King remain'd on the Frontiers.

But no ſooner had the King left the Army, and was returning into *France*, when the Prince of *Orange* with the *Dutch* Army, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, and ſome Auxiliary Troops of ſeveral *German* Princes, who commanded their Forces in Perſon, laid Siege to the ſtrong City of *Maſtricht*. The King being ſufficiently aſſured, that the preſent condition of the Place, provided with all Neceſſaries for a vigorous defence, together with the Bravery of the Garriſon, and the invincible Courage and Experience of the Deputy Governour the Count *de Calva*, a *Catalonian* by Birth, who commanded in the Governour's Abſence, would keep the Enemy in play for ſome time, before they ſhould ſtand in need of any relief, took the advantage of this opportunity, and whilſt the Enemy was buſied in that Siege, he ordred the Marſhal *de Humiers* to ſit down before *Aire*, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable of that Country, ſituate on the Frontiers of the Province of *Artois*. The Marſhal having made himſelf Maſter of it in five Days, he attack'd the ſtrong Fort of *Linck*, which being ſoon forced to follow the Example of *Aire*, the whole *French* Army by eaſie Marches, moved under the Command of the Marſhal Duke *Frederick* of *Schomberg*, towards *Maſtricht*. *Siege of Maſtricht.*

The Beſiegers had been employed in the Siege for near ſeven Weeks, without having

been able to make themselves Masters of the Counterscarp or any Out-works; they had made many and very furious Attacks, but had been always repulsed with great loss; and their Army being by the many Sallies and Mines of the Besieged, as well as by Mortality reduc'd to one half of what it was at the beginning of the Siege, they judged it most advisable to decamp, and to quit the Siege so soon as they saw the *French* Army approach towards their Lines, they retreated with so much Precipitation, that they left behind them fifty pieces of great Cannon for Battery, six Thousand Musquets, all their Provision and Ammunition, with a great number of sick and wounded Soldiers.

Siege of Mastricht *raised,* Aug. 26.

Victories obtained in Sicily.

The Fleet which the States-General had sent into the *Mediterranean*, to endeavour the Recovery of *Messina*, which City two Years before had shaken off the *Spanish* Yoak more out of a hatred of the *Spaniards*, than a real love of Liberty, had no better success than the rest. It is certain that *France* had not been in the least concerned in this Rebellion, but the King being two wise not to lay hold of so favourable a juncture and to improve it to his own advantage, he sent them some Supplies, which at first were but inconsiderable, but were by degrees strengthened by several Reinforcements.

Spaniards *beaten at* Sea.

Lewis Vivone, Duke, Peer, and Marshal of *France*, beat the *Spanish* Fleet that block'd up the Harbour of *Messina*, and brought a good supply of Provision and Ammunition into the Place on the 11th of *April*, in the Year 1675. and in the same Summer

mer in the Month of *Auguſt*, made himſelf Maſter of *Agouſta*, a Port of no leſs conſequence and conveniency than the former.

The *Spaniards* being put under no ſmall apprehenſion of loſing the whole Iſland of *Sicily*, ſolicited the *Hollanders* to ſend a Fleet to their aſſiſtance into the *Mediterranean*, and at the ſame time obtained from the *States*, that the ſaid Fleet ſhould be commanded by Admiral *Ruyter*, the moſt famous Commander at Sea, at that time, in all *Europe*. Our King gave the Command of his Fleet to another brave Seaman, who, tho leſs famous, yet was not inferiour to the other in Skill and Experience in Maritime Affairs. This was one called *Duqueſne*, born at *Diepe*, who from a ſimple Seamen, as well as Admiral *Ruyter*, had raiſed himſelf to the Supream Command of a Fleet.

Both Fleets joyn'd in Battle in *January*, in the Year 1676. The Engagement was ſo terrible and furious, that according to the Letter written by Admiral *Ruyter* himſelf, he never ſaw any thing like it in all his Life before. But *Duqueſne* forced the *Hollanders* to retreat, and to leave a free Paſſage for his Ships into the Port of *Meſſina*, which he entred in Triumph with his whole Squadron, and the Convoy.

In the *April* next following, the *Dutch* in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, having attack'd the Port of *Agouſta*, *Duqueſne* forced them to quit the Enterprize. This Engagement was very bloody, *Ruyter* himſelf received three Wounds; one in the Head, another in the Thigh, and the third in the Foot, of which *Admiral Ruyter killed.*

which he died in ten Days after. The Enemies being put into a great Conſternation by the loſs of their Admiral, durſt not appear any longer at Sea, but retired to *Palermo* to refit and to expect a freſh Reinforcemont.

But the Marſhal and Duke *de Vivone* reſolving to give them a Viſit before they could be reinforced with freſh Supplies, ſet Sail with his Squadron towards *Palermo*, where he arrived on the ſecond of *January* following, he found them riding at Anchor at the very entrance of the Port in very good order; but no ſooner had he ſent ſome Fire-Ships among them, which ſet two or three of their Ships on Fire, but the reſt either ran a-ſhoar, ſunk themſelves, or blew up in the Air; ſome few getting into the Port. The Ennemies loſt twelve of their beſt Ships in this occaſion, ſix Gallies, with ſeven hundred pieces of Cannon, and above five thouſand Men. The Houſes odjoyning to the Port, and the whole lower Town were much endamaged by the pieces of Iron Bars, and the broken Cannon and Ships, which, by the force of the Powder were thrown into the place and cruſh'd all to pieces where-ever they happen'd to fall. The Marſhal having obtain'd this Victory, which was one of the moſt compleat that had been obtain'd for many Years before, without any conſiderable loſs on his ſide, made all *Italy* tremble, eſpecially when they ſaw the *French* within two Months after, Maſters of *Taormine*, of *Scalette*, of St. *Placida*, and many other ſmall places along the *Sicilian* Coaſt.

The Dutch Fleet burnt in the Port of Palermo.

The

The Confederates took in the Month of *September* the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Philipsburgh*, which, after a whole Years Blockade, and a Siege of three Months, had been forc'd to Capitulate; but the taking of this Place was look'd upon as a ſlender equivalent to counterbalance the loſſes the Allies had ſuſtain'd this Campaign in other places. It muſt be confeſs'd that *Philipsbourg* is a Place of great conſequence, both in reſpect of its Fortifications and Situation, as being the inlet into *Alſace*, and a Bridle to the *Palatinate*; but it ought alſo to be conſider'd, that this long Siege coſt the Enemy ſuch a vaſt number of brave Men, that a conqueſt bought at ſo dear a rate, may well be judged leſs advantageous, when attended with ſuch fatal Conſequences. For the Confederate Army was reduc'd to ſo ill a condition after this Siege, that the *French*, who obſerv'd them narrowly in all their motions, ſoon after oblig'd them, as they did the Year before, to ſeek for Winter-Quarters in their own Territories, and to recruit their broken Troops. *Philipsburgh taken by the Allies.*

The next following Year the King open'd the Campaign with the Conqueſt of *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and St. *Omer*, and a Signal Victory obtain'd over the Confederate Army in a pitch'd Battle; one of the moſt famous Expeditions that has been undertaken for theſe ſeveral Ages paſt, whether in conſideration of the renown and ſtrength of the abovementioned Places, or in reſpect of the little time the King ſpent in conquering them in a Seaſon, when for want of Forage, there was but ſmall likelihood of ſucceeding in ſuch an Enterpriſe. *Campaign of 1677.*

The

The City of *Cambray* is Situate at the very entrance of *Flanders*, where it joyn'd on our Frontiers, and was consequently very incommodious to us, the Garrison having often carried Fire and Flame into our Territories, as far as the *Isle of France*, from whence they used to draw great Contributions, sufficient to entertain a good number of Troops, who frequently play'd the Masters over us in these parts, when for the rest we gave Laws to all the *Spanish Netherlands*. The Situation of St. *Omer* was such, as to be in a condition to make frequent Excursions into the Province of *Artois*, and the *Boulonnese* Territories, *Valenciennes* was of as great consequence to us as the other two; but, tho' the King was not ignorant long before of the advantage of the Conquest of these three places, yet considering their strength, we durst scarce flatter our selves to be able to undertake such an Expedition, as to Besiege them all three at once, or if we did, there appear'd but little likelihood of succeeding in so great an undertaking.

Valenciennes *besieged.*

There was in *Valenciennes* at that time, a Garrison of three thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, besides two thousand of the Inhabitants trained up in the Exercise of Arms, and a considerable number of Gentlemen, who had thrown themselves into the Place to signalize themselves in its Defence. The City was secured on one side by the Watery and boggy Grounds, on the other, by many large Out-Works, surrounded with deep Ditches full of Water. The Inhabitants over-confident in the strength of the Place, and recalling to their Memory the disgrace which the

Marshal

Marſhal *de la Ferte* receiv'd before that Place in the Year 1656, were puff'd up with ſo much Vanity, that, when the King ſat down before the Place, in lieu of being alarm'd at it, they ſhew'd not the leaſt concern in the World, but paſs'd their time in Feaſting and other Rejoycings, and gave Balls upon their Baſtions. But this Vain-Glory ſoon vaniſh'd, and it may be ſaid, without the leaſt contradiction to Truth, that there is ſcarce an Example to be found, where a place of ſuch ſtrength, and ſo much reputation, has made a more faint reſiſtance than this.

In the foregoing Year the King had made himſelf Maſter of *Conde* and *Bouchain*, one of which being ſituate above, the other below *Valenciennes*, he by poſting a good Body of Horſe near theſe two places, had kept this City block'd up the greateſt part of the Winter.

It was Inveſted on the firſt Day of *March*, and the King being arrived on the fourth of the ſame Month in the Camp, the Trenches were opened betwixt the eighth and ninth, and puſh'd on the ſame Night for above ſixteen hundred Paces. The chief Attack was carried on againſt a Crown-Work, containing within its compaſs a half Moon, and behind that a Ravelin, call'd the *Paſty*. Our Cannon and Bombs had done great Execution upon theſe Out-Works for ſeveral Days together, when it was reſolv'd to give the Aſſault on the next Morning by eight a Clock. The Troops Commanded to give the Aſſault fell like Lions in four ſeveral places upon the Counterſcarp with ſo much fury, that the Enemy not being able to ſuſtain them, firſt gave way, and ſoon after

after betook themſelves to flight. Being purſued by the *French*, they retreated into the Crown-Work, but with ſo much precipitation, that our Men enter'd pell mell with them, and attacking them in Front, Rear, and Flank, cut eight hundred of them in pieces; the reſt, who endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by flight, were beaten from Poſt to Poſt with ſuch an incredible Courage, that being quite frighted out of their ſenſes, they neglected to draw up the Bridge which joyn'd to the Out-work. The Conquering Soldiers encourag'd as much by the opportunity as the good Succeſs, make themſelves Maſters of the Bridge, and whilſt the reſt are buſie in breaking open the Gates with Hatchets, ſome got upon the top of the next Baſtion by the help of Ladders, turn the Cannon againſt the Town, whilſt their Comerades that were got in thro' the Gates marched into the City, and barricado'd themſelves in the great Street, in ſight of the Garriſon, and the City Militia, who being ſtruck with a Panick fear at the boldneſs of the Enterprize, threw down their Arms, and without any further Capitulation, ſurrender'd at Diſcretion.

Valenciennes taken by Aſſault.

Who is ſo ignorant as not to be ſenſible what prodigious Diſorders uſed to be committed in the ranſacking of a Town taken by Aſſault, when the enraged Soldier makes the Inhabitants, without the leaſt difference of Age, Quality, or Sex, feel the effects of his Fury. The dreadful Idea of all theſe Diſaſters, their late unſeaſonable Bravadoes, and that implacable hatred which they had ſhewn againſt the *French* upon many occaſions, made the Inhabitants,

Inhabitants, not without great reaſon, tremble at the ſight of their Conquering Enemies. But it was not long that they were in fear of becoming a prey and Victim to the *French* Soldiers, a few Minutes having deliver'd them from theſe direful apprehenſions; for, no ſooner had the King been advertiſed of what had paſſed, but he ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, to forbid the plundering of the City.

The Soldiers had already began with ſome of the adjacent Houſes, five or ſix had been forced to feel the effects of thoſe misfortunes which happen in the pillaging of a Place taken by Aſſault; and 'twas fear'd that the unruly Soldiers would ſcarce be prevail'd upon to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of ſatisfying both their Avarice and Revenge, and to be deaf to the Orders of their Commanders; but no ſooner were they forbidden in the King's Name to plunder the City, but all violence ceaſed in an inſtant, to the great aſtoniſhment of the whole City, who could not but ſtand amaz'd at the ſubmiſſion of the Soldiery in the midſt of their fury, who gave ſuch eminent marks of their Obedience to the King's pleaſure, by their alacrity in gaining the Victory, and their entire ſubmiſſion in relinquiſhing the Fruits of their Bravery. The whole Garriſon which conſiſted ſtill of two thouſand eight hundred Men, were made Priſoners of War; but the Citizens had their chiefeſt Privileges confirm'd to them. In the Afternoon every thing appear'd as quiet in the City, as if they had not chang'd their Maſter. A moſt remarkable Victory, where a handful of Men, in half an hours time, car-

carried ſeveral ſtrong Works by Aſſault, paſſed four or five Ditches, and made themſelves Maſters of one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt populous Cities in all *Flanders*, and that with the loſs only of Forty Men on our ſide.

The taking of *Valenciennes*, did, like a dreadful Thunderclap, make the whole Country round about tremble for fear, there being ſcarce one City, tho' never ſo ſtrong, in thoſe parts, which did not dread to undergo the ſame Fate. To raiſe their drooping Courage, the Prince of *Orange* march'd at the Head of an Army of thirty thouſand Men, compoſed of the *Dutch* Forces, to endeavour the relief either of *Cambray*, or St. *Omer*, which were beſieg'd both at the ſame time, the firſt by the King in Perſon, the other by the Duke of *Orleans*, his Majeſty's only Brother. *Cambray* being of ſuch a ſtrength and advantageous Situation, that it was reported, the *Spaniards* made more account upon it than all the reſt of *Flanders*; it was generally believ'd the ſtorm would fall that way, but beyond all expectation, the Enemy rather choſe to relieve St. *Omer* than *Cambray*, partly becauſe they might with leſs difficulty poſſeſs themſelves of ſome advantageous Poſts near St. *Omer*, partly becauſe they had flatter'd themſelves with this Opinion, that without much reſiſtance they might force our Quarters on one ſide, where they were not very well ſecur'd.

The Enemies march was ſo far from cauſing the leaſt diſturbance among our Soldiers, that both Sieges were carried on with the ſame Vigour as before, there being ſuch an Emulation among the Soldiery, that one ſtrove to out-

do

outdo the other in performing their duties, the more, because they were plentifully provided with every thing necessary for their subsistence. For it is to be observ'd, that the King took always this sure Maxim, to have his Magazins every Year very well provided during the Winter, with all manner of Provisions, to be in a condition to prevent his Enemies designs, and to appear as early in the Field as he judg'd it convenient.

Cambray was so furiously attack'd by the King, that the City was forc'd to Capitulate within six days after opening of the Trenches; the next following Day the King order'd a Detachment of nine Battallions to march with all possible diligence to joyn the Duke of *Orleans*, before the Enemy could force his Lines, or engage him. This Prince had in the mean while advanc'd so briskly in the Siege of St. *Omer*, that at that very time he had made himself Master of the most considerable Fort near the Place, and on which depended hitherto the whole safety of the Town. It was at that very instant he received certain intelligence that the Enemy were advanced within six or seven Leagues, in order to relieve the Place. His Troops were much harass'd, and less numerous than the Prince of *Orange*'s, but having receiv'd the King's Orders to march against them, he marched out of the Lines, and having left only a Body of Militia, with some regular Troops, to guard the Trenches and Works, directed his march towards *Cassel*, being confident that the King had taken his measures so surely, as that the expected reinforcement

Cambray surrender'd April 5.

would come time enough to his assistance; neither did he find himself in the least mistaken in his hopes, the above-mention'd Battallions having joyn'd him at the very nick of time, as he expected, and so a *propos*, that if they had come sooner, they would have been less useful.

The Duke of *Orleans* strengthen'd by this reinforcement, and finding himself not inferiour in number to the Enemy, sought only for an opportunity to execute the King's Commands; in order to which, with a generous resolution, he passed the next Day with his Army a small Brook which separated the two Armies, and attack'd the Enemy with great fury. The first Encounter was the most terrible that had been seen in the memory of Man, both sides fighting with an equal bravery, so that the success remain'd doubtful for some Hours, just as if Fortune had taken a particular delight to see so many brave Men dispute Victory to the utmost of their power. But after the Enemy had stood their ground bravely for three Hours, they were at last forc'd to give way, and soon after being broken on all sides, to seek for their safety in their Heels; leaving as a pledge of their defeat, to the mercy of our Soldiers all their Ammunition and Baggage, seventeen Standards, four and forty Colours, thirteen pieces of Cannon, three thousand Prisoners, and the Field all cover'd with dead and wounded Men; Six thousand of them were counted to be fallen upon the spot, the rest sav'd themselves under the favour of the Hedges and Defiles; the approaching Night, and the vast num-

Battle of Cassel April 11.

number of ſmall Channels, in which the Country abounds ſerving them for a ſafeguard againſt their Enemies, who durſt not purſue them but with a great deal of caution.

The Duke of *Orleans* acquir'd immortal Glory in this Action, having ſhewn himſelf as great a General in the diſpoſition of his Army, as he behav'd himſelf a brave Soldier during the whole Engagement, having receiv'd two Shot in his Armour, as he was rallying ſome Battallions and leading them on again to Charge the Enemy; he continued with his Army for 2 Days after, near the Field of Battle, the better to give his Orders for the purſuit of the Enemy, and to ſee whether perhaps they might be in a condition to try their Fortune, and attempt the relief of the Place a ſecond time; but having received certain intelligence that they were retreated far into the Country, he return'd with his Troops to the Lines, to continue the Siege of St. *Omer* without any further interruption.

In two Days after his new Batteries began to Play againſt the Body of the Place, and the Trenches were carried on to the Glacis. The Counterſcarp being taken, a wide Breach was made, the Ditch fill'd up in Order to give a General Aſſault, the Town Capitulated after having defended it ſelf with a great deal of Gallantry and Reſolution. St. Omer *taken.*

Three days before the Citadel of *Cambray* had likewiſe been forc'd to a Surrender by the King. The Garriſon was compoſed of ſeven old Regiments, whereof two were *Spaniards*, two *Lorrainers*, and three *Walloons*, under a

Governor who had an equal ſhare of bravery and skill in Martial Affairs. The Place was well provided with every thing for its Defence, and of ſuch a ſtrength, that its Fortifications were look'd upon as impregnable. Every thing ſeem'd to concur for a Vigorous Defence againſt the King's Forces, who were not above nine or ten thouſand ſtrong. This ſeem'd to be a very ſlender Force, and little ſuitable to the greatneſs of the Enterpriſe, but the King, by his Preſence, Vigilancy, and Example, did animate his Soldiers to that degree, that redoubling their Courage and Activity, they, in ſpite of the continual Fire and frequent Sallies of the Beſieged, carried all the Out-Works in nine or ten Days time. Our Cannon having ſoon after made a Breach in one of the Baſtions of the Place, large enough for thirty Men to mount a-Breaſt, the Governour deſpairing of being able to hold out the Aſſault, demanded a Capitulation. It would have been no difficult matter for the King to have oblig'd him to ſurrender at diſcretion, but being free to ſhew Mercy to one that had behav'd himſelf ſo Gallantly, he agreed to certain Articles to ſerve him as a comfort in his preſent affliction, purſuant to which the Garriſon marched out at the Breach, with Drums beating, Colours Flying, and two pieces of Cannon.

The Citadel of Cambray ſurrender'd.

The Conqueſt of theſe three important places, and the Battle of *Caſſel*, put the Affairs of the Confederacy into ſuch a confuſion, that it was a conſiderable time before they could recollect themſelves. For it was not till three Months after that they held a Congreſs

Congreſs at *Weſel*, to deliberate concerning ſome Enterprize of moment, by which they might in ſome meaſure recover their former Reputation and Hopes. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, who had lately declared againſt *France*, the Ambaſſador of the King of *Denmark*, the Penſionary of *Holland*, Admiral *Trump*, and the Envoys of the King of *Spain*, and ſeveral other Electors were preſent at this Conference, where the Siege of *Charleroy* was reſolved upon, and the execution thereof committed to the Management of the Prince of *Orange*. No ſooner was the Place inveſted with threeſcore thouſand Men, but the King's Army poſted themſelves betwixt the Enemy and thoſe Cities of *Flanders*, from whence they muſt draw their Proviſions, ſo that their Convoys being intercepted, they were in a manner block'd up, and began to want Proviſions in two Days time. There was no other remedy left, than either to fight us, or to quit the Siege, but the Confederates not judging it for their purpoſe to hazard a ſecond Battle, they decamped not without ſome Confuſion before eight Days were expired, laying the fault upon one another, and conſuming what Forage they could meet with in the Country, without ſhewing any great inclination to oppoſe the King's Forces, who ravaged the Country, and exacted great Contributions.

Victory in Catalonia.

The King's Arms were attended with the ſame ſucceſs in other parts. *Philip de Montaut* Duke *de Nouailles*, had ravaged the whole *Lampourdan*, and defeated ten Thouſand *Spaniards*, as they were repaſſing the *Pyrenean*

Mountains; there were three Thousand five Hundred of the Enemies killed upon the place, and eight Hundred made Prisoners, with the loss of only two Hundred Men on our side.

In Germany. In *Germany* the Troops of the neighbouring Circles commanded by a Duke of *Saxony*, had been worsted in several Encounters, and were at last forced to seek for shelter in one of the Islands of the *Rhine*. But what they intended for their Preservation, had very near proved their total Destruction, being in eminent danger of perishing either by Famine, or the Enemies Sword, if upon the interception of the Magistrate of *Strasburgh*, the King had not granted them a Passport to retreat from thence in security, under condition that they should not bear Arms against the King the same Campaign.

The Passport being signed by the Marshal *de Crequy*, who commanded at that time on the *Rhine*, the abovementioned Forces, with their *Saxon* General, were marching homeward, being conducted by a strong Guard, their main security against their Enemies, when Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* came in timely to their Assistance to deliver them from so ignominious a Retreat. But it was not long before he paid dearly for the Glory of having rescued the *Germans*, for within few Days after, the Cavalry of his Right Wing was totally routed and cut to pieces.

This Prince was Heir and Nephew to the old Duke of *Lorrain*, who died in the Year 1675.

After

After his Death, the Emperour to bring him over to his Intereſt, made him General over his Army on the *Rhine*, promiſing to give to him in Marriage his Siſter the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, and to make uſe of all his Power and Intereſt to put him into the Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, which belonged to him by right of Succeſſion.

His projected deſign ſucceeded but ill in the Year 1676. But at the beginning of the Campaign, in the Year 1677, he thought himſelf ſo ſure, that he puts this Motto upon his Standards, *Maintenant ou jamais*; that is, *Now or Never*. Full of theſe fair hopes, he paſſed the *Saar*, and advanced as far as *Mouſon*; but the Marſhal *de Crequy* followed him ſo cloſely upon the Heels, that he ſcarce ever miſs'd any opportunity to intercept his Convoys, and thereby to cut off his neceſſary Supplies of Proviſions; he kept his Army in continual Alarm, and by his Marches and Counter-marches, harraſs'd them to that degree, that he broke all the Duke's Meaſures, who was at laſt forced to repaſs the *Rhine*, without having been able to do any thing of moment all that Campaign.

The *Germans* had no ſooner repaſs'd the *Rhine*, but the Marſhal *de Crequy* inveſted *Friburgh*, the Capital City of *Briſgau*. This City is of a conſiderable bigneſs, and its Citadel very ſtrong both by its Situation and ſeveral good Works; notwithſtanding which, the Marſhal attack'd it ſo briskly, that he became Maſter of it in leſs than eight Days time, before Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* could come to its relief. Friburgh taken.

St. Gillian besieged and taken.

About a Month after, the King caused St. *Gillian* to be Besieged; this Place is situate in the midst of the Province of *Heinault*, of very good strength, and well provided with every thing necessary for its defence. The Soldiers were not only to fight against the Enemy, but also against the cold Season, it being in the Month of *December*; notwithstanding all these Difficulties, they carried the place in nine Days, a convincing Instance, that the King's Troops were used to outbrave all the Rigours of the Season.

These frequent Losses, and continual Disappointments made the People of *Holland* wish as much for a Peace, as the Prince of *Orange* had reason to oppose it. For it being the Interest of that Prince to keep in his Hands as long as possibly he could, that great power wherewith he was invested as long as he was supream Commander both over their Sea and Land Forces, he left no Stone unturn'd to prevent the States from making either a general or particular Peace with *France*. But this small and troublesome War, which had already lasted four Years, having exhausted all the Parties concerned, both of Men and Money, the Prince judged it most for his Purpose to make his application to the Court of *England*.

The *English* at that time overflow'd in Riches, they had in a manner managed all the Traffick of *Europe* alone for three Years last past. Their great affluence of Riches, had made them jealous of our King's growing Power, and being besides this desirous of Glory, and of signalizing themselves abroad, they earnestly wished for a War with *France*, which

which had made them more than once to ſollicite King *Charles* II. to enter into the Confederacy. This appearing a favourable juncture to the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſign, he undertook a Journey to *London*, as well to engage that King in an Alliance againſt us, as to eſpouſe the eldeſt Daughter of the Duke of *York*. The Prince of *Orange* being K. *Charles* II. his Nephew, was much beloved and eſteemed by him. The Prince's Religion, his great Capacity and Riches, his Averſion to *France*, and his great Intereſt in *Holland*, had procured him great and many Friends in both Houſes of Parliament. It is eaſie to be imagined, that upon this occaſion he made uſe of all his Engines to draw his Uncle into the Confederacy, for which reaſon he perſwaded him to project certain Propoſitions of Peace, and to declare againſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe to accept of them. *France* being unwilling to hearken to theſe Conditions, great Levies were made in *England*, and ſome of their Troops were tranſported into *Flanders*. But neither this New League, neither the *Engliſh* Auxiliary Troops were ſufficient to ſtop the Progreſs of our King's Victorious Arms, or to hinder him from making new Conqueſts in the next Spring.

League betwixt England *and* Holland.

The better to cover his deſign, he took a Progreſs into *Lorrain*, the beginning of *February*, where he continued all that Month with the Queen and the whole Court.

Campaign in 1678.

During this Progreſs, his Armies in *Flanders*, in *Germany* and *Lorrain* were continually in motion, ſo that theſe Marches and Countermarches did amuſe the Enemy to that degree,

gree, that it was impossible for them to judge which of their Places was most in danger, and consequently to take any sure Measures for the security of such places as they thought most exposed, for fear of leaving others unprovided in case of an Attack. For the King having his Magazines well provided with every thing necessary for the carrying on four or five *Sieges* at a time from the Sea to the *Rhine*, the Confederates were put under a necessity of fearing all, without being able to guess whereabouts the Storm would fall.

Whilst they were under this perplexity, the Marshal *de Humiers* made a faint, as if he intended to Besiege *Ipres*, which obliged the Governour of the *Spanish Netherlands*, to send thither a great part of the Garrison of *Ghent*. But scarce were they on their March towards *Ipres*, when the City of *Ghent* it self was invested by threescore Thousand Men, who were order'd thither from all the circumjacent places; and at the same time *Ipres*, *Charlemont*, *Namur*, *Mons*, and *Luxenburgh*, where the Confederates had disposed most of their best Troops, were block'd up by several flying Armies.

Siege of Ghent. *Ghent* has always been esteemed the largest City of the Low Countries; it has a good Citadel with very fair Out-works, a strong Wall, surrounded with a large and deep Ditch. Its Fortifications, the number and Martial Inclination of its Inhabitants, besides its low situation in a Marshy Ground, at the Confluence of three Rivers and two Canals, which serve for a Barricado against an approaching Enemy,

did

did render this Enterprise so difficult in the Eyes of all the World, that after the Siege was begun, the News of it scarce met with credit in the Neighbouring Countries.

The King had taken such measures, and his Orders were obey'd with such exactness and alacrity, that, tho' the Place had not been Invested above three Days when he arriv'd in the Camp, the Lines of Circumvallation, which contain'd eight Leagues in compass, were very near brought to perfection, notwithstanding the rainy Season, and the many difficulties which were to be surmounted in these marshy Grounds. It was extreamly bad Weather when he set out from *Stenay*, notwithstanding which he travelled above sixty large Leagues in less than three Days, and arrived in the Camp before *Ghent* on the 4th of *March*, when without dismounting from his Horse, or taking the least refreshment or repose, he took, in Person, a view of the Place, and all the Works; the Governour of *Ghent* having the same Day open'd the Sluices, the King order'd so many Dikes and Ditches for the draining of the Ground to be made, that his Forces received no considerable damage by the Water, and were preserv'd in so good a condition, as to make themselves Masters the next Day of the Counterscarp, and some Out-Works. Nevertheless this great City defended it self for some time longer, till the Inhabitants being made sensible of the effects of our Bombs, Carcasses, and fiery Bullets, which flew as thick as Hail-stones, and destroy'd their Houses, they beat a Parley. The next day after the Citadel was besieg'd by Noon-

Ghent taken. Noon-day, which being defended by four good Bastions, and a Garrison of a thousand Men, yet was forc'd to surrender on the third Day after opening of the Trenches.

Ypres besieged. After the taking of *Ghent*, the King without loosing any time marched directly to *Ipres*, a well Fortified City, and conveniently situated for the King to keep correspondence with, and secure his other Conquests thereabouts. The *Spaniards* had lately drawn out of the place two Battallions of their best Men, whom they sent to *Bruges* to reinforce that Garrison; nevertheless there was, at the beginning of the Siege, a Garrison consisting of three thousand effective Men, old and well disciplin'd Troops; besides a great number of brave Officers and Voluntiers, who, by their Example encouraged the Soldiers to make a vigorous Defence. But by the bravery of our Troops, the Trenches were carried on to the Glacis and Counterscarp, and after a bloody Engagement taken with Sword in Hand, so the City and Citadel being without any hopes of relief, Capitulated at the same time. The Siege cost us abundance of Men, tho' it lasted not above nine Days after the opening of the Trenches, by reason that the *French* were not only to overcome the obstinacy of the Besieged, who defended themselves very valiantly, but also the rigour of the cold Season, and the inconveniencies of continual Rains.

The King's Arms being thus every where crown'd with Success, it seem'd that nothing was able to resist his Power; those Princes that were enter'd into a League against him, having, for four Years together rais'd no other advantage

advantage by the Confederacy, than to add new Luſtre to his Glory and Power: He had at that time two great Fleets at Sea, and five Armies on Land, which, together with his Garriſons, conſiſted of ſixty thouſand Horſe, and two hundred and forty thouſand Foot, all well diſciplin'd Troops, and inur'd to the Fatigues of War. His Frontiers were enclos'd on all ſides with ſtrong Forts, and well Fortifi'd Cities; his Treaſury in a good condition, and the whole Kingdom in a profound Tranquillity. He himſelf both delighted in and underſtood the Art of War. His Affairs being in ſo flouriſhing a condition, what could hinder him from making new Conqueſts, if his deſire of Glory had not been Counterbalanc'd by his Inclination for Peace, and ſeeing that his Enemies were reduc'd to a ſtate of moderation, and his Frontiers ſecured on all ſides, he reſolved to reſtore tranquillity to *Europe*.

King Ch. II. *Mediator at the Treaty of* Nimeguen.

After *Charles* II. King of *England* was enter'd into the Alliance with the *Dutch*, his chief aim was, to make himſelf a happy inſtrument in procuring a general Peace, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that his Mediation was accepted. For hitherto matters had advanced but ſlowly at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, where two Years were ſpent in ſetling ſome Preliminaries of little moment, in reſpect of the great Work they were to tranſact; to wit, in Diſputes about the place of Treaty, in fixing the bounds of the Neutrality, in exchanging their Credentials, and examining their Commiſſions, and ſuch other Preliminaries as are commonly made uſe of to protract theſe

these Conferences, whilst in the mean while the longest Sword decides the principal differences in the Field.

It is sufficiently known, that scarce a Year had passed since the Declaration of the War, wherein *Spain* had not been a considerable loser, nevertheless, they were the first who protested with all the solemn expressions in the World, that they would never consent to the Peace, unless our King did restore all what he had taken from them: and the Emperor's Pretensions were as exorbitant as those of the *Spaniards*. For which purpose the King made his chief application to the *Hollanders*, being sensible that if he could draw them from the Interest of the Confederacy, and perswade them to accept of a separate Peace, the other Princes would soon follow their Example. The King was sufficiently convinc'd that the Jealousy fomented by a certain Faction in *Holland* against the Prince, and their fear, lest, if the War should continue much longer, they might be involved in some troubles by the Prince's departure for *England*; the decay of their Trade, and the immense charges they were at by bearing the burthen of the War in maintaining not only their own Troops, but also most of the Confederate Forces, made them very desirous after a Peace; but the more it was their Interest to promote it, the more difficulties were to be surmounted before it could be brought to a happy conclusion.

For, tho' the Emperor and *Spain* had acted but with indifferent success in this War, yet on the other Hand the King of *Denmark* and

and Elector of *Brandenburgh* had had conſiderable advantages over *Sueden*, which had declared for us againſt the Confederacy in the Year 1675. In three Years time that the War laſted betwixt the Northern Princes, the *Suedes* had gain'd three Battles by Land, but they had been worſted in three ſeveral Sea-Engagements, and had loſt the Iſle of *Rugen*, and all *Pomerania*. This ſucceſs againſt the *Suedes* ſeem'd to intimate to the Confederates, that the *French* might alſo be vanquiſh'd in their turn: The Emperor and *Spain* ſhew'd more inclination for the continuation of the War, than for the Peace, tho' it be evident, that their hopes were built but upon a very ſlippery foundation, to wit, upon the chance of Fortune, and thoſe continual viciſſitudes which are the conſtant Attendants of all human Affairs.

This was the reaſon, that notwithſtanding all the earneſt applications of the States-General to obtain a General Peace, yet the Treaty advanced but ſlowly, and might, perhaps, have been quite rendred ineffectual, if the King had not taken a firm reſolution to ſee it brought to a happy concluſion, by taking ſuch meaſures as ſhould oblige the reſt of the Confederates to accept of the Peace. The King himſelf drew up the Articles which he ſent to his Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, to be communicated to the Mediators, under this condition, that in caſe the Confederates did not think fit to accept of them in forty Days, the King ſhould be at liberty to alter them, or to propoſe ſome new time. By vertue of theſe Articles, he was to remain in poſſeſſion of all his

his Conquests, unless *Maestricht*, and six Places in *Flanders*, to wit, *Ghent*, *Courtray*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, *Charleroy*, *Limbourgh*, and St. *Gillian* demolished.

That the King promised to restore *Maestricht* to the *Hollanders*, and the six abovementioned places to the *Spaniards*.

That the Peace of *Munster* should remain in its full force.

That if the Emperour kept *Philipsbourg*, the King should remain in possession of *Fribourg*.

That the Prince of *Furstemberg* should be set at Liberty and restored to his Honour, Dignities, and Estate.

And that lastly, the Northern Princes should restore to the *Suedes* what they had taken from them in this War.

Most of the Confederates exclaim'd against these Articles, but notwithstanding all their Protestations and Clamours, their Threats, Intreagues, and Cabals, they were at last oblig'd to accept of the same terms.

The *Hollanders* had no sooner embrac'd the King's offer, but the Emperour and Elector of *Brandenburgh* loudly exclaim'd against their Proceedings, upbraiding them with breach of Faith, and Ingratitude. But who is so unacquainted in publick Affairs, as to look for acknowledgment among Princes, or to imagine they think themselves oblig'd to one another for the assistance they give, when it is evident, that the same proceeds more from a motive of Interest than Friendship? how can a State therefore be charg'd with Ingratitude, unless it be call'd so when they search too narrowly into the true causes of a benefit they have receiv'd?

But,

But, to be ſhort, theſe reproaches made but ſlender impreſſions upon the States, who were ſo far from changing their opinion, that they prevail'd upon the *Spaniards* to follow their Example; but when the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours were upon the point of ſigning the Articles, there aroſe an unforeſeen difficulty, which was likely to have broken off the whole Treaty.

For in the Article concerning *Spain*, wherein the King had promiſed to reſtore to them ſix Places in *Flanders*, there being no certain time limitted, the *States* had interpreted it thus, that the Evacuation of the ſaid Places ſhould be made immediately after the Ratification of the Peace betwixt *France* and *Spain*. But the King's Intention being not ſo much that by reſtoring theſe Places to *Spain*, they ſhould ſerve as a Barricado betwixt him and the *Hollanders*, and to remove the Jealouſie they had conceived at the Neighbourhood of ſo potent a Prince, as to be in lieu of an equivalent for thoſe Places that were to be reſtored to *Sweden*, he refuſed to ſurrender theſe Cities into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, before the *Swedes* had received full ſatisfaction as to their Demands.

This Spark was like to have proved the occaſion of rekindling the Flames, and renewing the War with more Vigour and Animoſity than before, the Emperour and *Spain* not being wanting to lay hold of this Opportunity to revive the Jealouſies, and to perſwade the *Hollanders*, that the King had no real Inclination for Peace, his only deſign being by withdrawing them from the *Confederacy*, to ſurprize them hereafter with the more eaſe.

Our King had given moſt evident Proofs of his ſincere Intentions for the Peace; to promote which, he had recall'd his Forces out of *Sicily*, under the Command of *Francis de Aubuſſon la Feuillade*, Duke, Peer, and Marſhal of *France*; he had at the Interceſſion of the *Hollanders*, prolonged the Term which he had fixed to the Allies for the accepting the Propoſitions of Peace; and tho he had within the laſt Month extended his Conqueſts both in *Flanders* and *Catalonia*, by the taking of two conſiderable places, yet was he ſo far from taking any advantage of his good Fortune, that on the other hand he offered to reſtore them without any equivalent. But notwithſtanding all theſe Demonſtrations of his moſt fervent Inclinations for Peace, Matters hung in ſuſpenſe for ſome time, neither could the Treaty be brought to a Concluſion, till the King of *Sweden* declared by his Ambaſſadors, *That he not only conſented, but alſo prayed His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to reſtore the above mentioned Places to* Spain, *and not to delay any longer to give Peace to* Europe, *on account of the particular Intereſt of the Crown of* Sweden. This grand Obſtacle being removed, the Peace was ſigned betwixt the King and the States the 10th Day of *Auguſt* in the Year 1678.

The French *leave* Sicily.

Within four Days after, the Prince of *Orange* attack'd the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who, whilſt they were conteſting at *Nimeguen*, kept *Mons* block'd up with an Army of forty Thouſand Men. The Prince of *Orange* had in view no leſs than the breaking off of the whole Treaty, or at leaſt to obtain ſome more advanta-

Peace of Nimeguen.

vantageous Conditions, if he happened to ſucceed in this Enterprize. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* could not in the leaſt ſuſpect his Intention, as having received freſh Aſſurances, that the Peace was ſigned; but by his brave Reſolution he diverted the danger that he had put himſelf into by his being too confident of his own Security by the Peace. *Engagement near St. Denis.*

The Action was very bloody, which was ended at Night without any conſiderable Advantage on either ſide, unleſs that the Enemy retired in ſome Confuſion, and were purſued to their Camp. The next Day there was a Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities, the Peace was proclaimed the ſame Day in the Camp, and ratified within a Month after.

After the Concluſion of this Treaty with the *Dutch*, the *Spaniards* found themſelves under an indiſpenſible neceſſity to accept of thoſe Conditions the *Hollanders* had procured for them. It was in vain for the reſt of the *Confederates* to make uſe of all their Perſwaſions and Intrigues, to prevent the *Spaniards* from accepting of them, who ſigned the Peace on the ſeventeenth of *September* following.

This done, the King without loſing any further time, order'd his Troops towards the *Rhine*, with an Intention to attack the Emperour and Empire with the utmoſt vigour before the Winter; ſome of the *German* Princes dreading the Storm that threatned them, began to withdraw from the reſt, and to make their Applications to the *Spaniards* and *States-*

General to be comprehended in the Treaty. But *Spain*, purſuant to a ſecret Agreement (as it was ſuppoſed) betwixt thoſe two Branches of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, made ſeveral Delays in the Ratification of the Peace, ſo that the time prefixed for the ſaid Ratification, (notwithſtanding it had been twice prolonged at the Requeſt of the *Dutch*) was very near expired.

In the mean while the *French* Forces made frequent Excurſions into the very Heart of *Flanders*, not ſparing even thoſe places that had hitherto eſcaped from being viſited by them; they exacted ſuch vaſt Sums from all the circumjacent Country, and pillaged all ſuch as refuſed to pay them Contributions, that according to the computation and confeſſion of the Enemies themſelves, the flat Country ſuffered more from the time of the ſigning till the Ratification of the Treaty, than it had done in the heat of the War. The Cries and Lamentations of the People did at laſt overcome the Reſolution of the *Spaniſh* Council, who in ſpite of all the oppoſition made by the reſt of the Allies, cauſed the Peace to be ratified in *December* in the Year 1678.

Immediately after the King order'd his Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* to declare to the Emperour's Miniſters, that in caſe their Maſter did not think fit to accept of the ſame Conditions as they had been propoſed in the Project of the General Peace, within a limited time, that after that there ſhould be no further talk of Peace. This Declaration and the fear they were in of the King's Forces that were approaching the *Rhine*, made the Emperour and Empire at laſt reſolve rather

rather to chuſe the Harbour, than to expoſe themſelves in the open Sea, to ſo dreadful a Tempeſt, as threatned their Deſtruction.

Thus a Peace was concluded betwixt the Emperour and our King in the Month of *February* in the Year 1679. upon condition, that the Peace of *Munſter* ſhould remain in its full force, and that the Emperour ſhould reſign all his Right and Soveraignty over the City of *Friburgh*, and the whole *Alſace* to our King.

During the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, the King at the Interceſſion of the Emperour, and the reſt of the *Confederates*, had left it to the choice of Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, whether he would accept of the Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, without that of *Bar*, purſuant to the *Pyrenean* Treaty; or whether he would be ſatisfied, if the King reſtored him to the Poſſeſſion of both thoſe Dutchies, reſerving only to himſelf the City of *Nancy*, and all the Grounds and Highways by which the King's Armies were to march into *Germany*. The Prince at firſt choſe the laſt of theſe two, but ſoon after repenting his Choice, refuſed to accept either.

But tho the Peace was ſigned betwixt the Emperour and the King, the King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, proteſted againſt it, continuing to make vaſt Preparations to maintain themſelves in their Conqueſts taken from the *Swedes* in *Germany*. But when the *French* Troops began to approach the Frontiers of *Brandenburgh*, theſe Princes were ſoon brought to a compliance, and ſhew'd as much eagerneſs for the Peace, as they had

ſhewn averſion againſt it before. The King of *Sweden* received full ſatisfaction, they being obliged to reſtore all that had been taken from that Crown, without any other Equivalent, but a good Sum of Money, which was paid them by our King.

It will, without all queſtion, appear ſurprizing, and perhaps paſt belief to Poſterity, how *France* ſhould have been ſtrong enough to withſtand ſo many Enemies at one time; and that after they had been vanquiſh'd, they ſhould have been obliged to accept of a Peace upon the ſame Terms, as they were propoſed by our King. It is certain that *France* never made a Peace which proved more Glorious, or more for its Intereſt than this, or which has been managed with more dexterity. The chief Glory of it is due only to our King, who not only himſelf made the firſt Project, but alſo, according to the different progreſs of the Treaty, directed every ſtep to be taken by his Ambaſſadours and Plenipotentiaries *Godfrey de Eſtrades* Marſhal of *France*, *Charles Colbert* Marquis *de Croiſſy*, afterwards Miniſter and Secretary of State, and *Anthony de Meſmes* Count *de Avaux*.

Thus Crown'd both with Lawrel and Olive-Branches, he was ever after the Object of Admiration, not only of his Subjects, but alſo of all *Europe*.

A N

ESSAY

UPON THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

LEWIS the *GREAT.*

LIB. IV.

THE King having reſtored Peace to *Europe*, employed all his care in rendering it as durable as poſſibly could be; and having now laid aſide his further thoughts of extending the limits of his King-

dom, he judged it most conducing to his Affairs, to secure his Frontiers on all sides, by good Fortifications. For which purpose, after he had consulted with his best Engineers, he himself made the Draughts of the most considerable Fortifications, appointed the Charges and all other particulars belonging to the perfecting of the Works, according to the best modern Rules. Never were any places seen exceeding either in strength or beauty some of those that were, by the King's Orders built in *Flanders*, and *Alsace*, the *Franche Compte*, to defend the Passages of the *Lis*, the *Rhine*, the *Saar*, the *Moselle*, the *Meuse*, and several other Rivers that border upon his Dominions; it has been computed, that since his accession to the Crown, two hundred and twenty Towns, Forts, Citadels, Ports and Harbours have been fortified by his Orders. As he was not insensible that the best safeguard of a Prince is to maintain his Respect among his Enemies, so not contented with having fortified his Frontiers, unless they were also guarded by a good number of Troops, he did only disband some of his Forces, retaining the best in his Service, to render himself at all times invincible, tho his thoughts were now more bent to preserve Tranquility in his Dominions, than to conquer his Enemies.

The Academies for the Cadets.

He kept all the Officers of the Disbanded Regiments in Pay, and that he might never want a constant supply of good Officers, even in time of Peace, he erected many Companies of young Gentlemen; these were brought up in all Warlike Exercises, and entertain'd at the

the King's Charge in the Citadels, and when a Captain or Lieutenant's place became vacant, it was theſe that ſupplied thoſe Poſts proportionable to their Deſerts.

The better to encourage his Troops to glorious Actions by the aſſurance of a ſafe Retreat in their Native Country, he cauſed that Hoſpital called the *Invalids*, to be built in one of the Suburbs of *Paris*, a truly magnificent Structure, where thoſe that are render'd unſerviceable either by Age, or their Wounds, find an honourable Retreat and Reward for their paſt Labours and Toils. *The Invalids.*

To afford alſo ſome relief to ſuch Gentlemen as often ruine their Eſtates in the Service of their Country, he founded a Community for three Hundred young Gentlewomen at St. *Cyr*. Theſe young Ladies are educated in this Houſe with particular care from the Age of Seven till Twenty, when they are either provided with ſome advantageous Match, or elſe, if their inclination be otherwiſe, are ſent into a Nunnery. This Noble Community is without parallel in *Europe*. *The Houſe of St.* Lewis *at St.* Cyr.

For the reſt the King order'd his Troops to encamp every Year, when he uſed frequently to take a view of them in Perſon, and in his Progreſs to viſit ſome of his Frontier Places, to keep the Governours and Overſeers of his Works and Places in awe, and to encourage them by his Preſence to perform their Duty.

As he was in the Year 1683. returning from one of theſe Progreſſes, where he had been accompanied by the whole Court the Queen *Maria Thereſia* of *Auſtria*, fell dangerouſly ill of a Fever, which put an end *Death of the Queen of* France.

end to her Life on the 30th of *July*, after four Days Sickneſs. She was a Princeſs endowed with extraordinary Qualities, very Devout, Charitable to the Poor, Liberal to her Domeſticks, and Affable to all the World. She had the Happineſs, before her Death, to ſee the *Dauphin* (who was Born at *Fontainbleau* in the Year 1661. the firſt of *November* ſeven Minutes after Twelve a Clock at Noon) Married to a vertuous Princeſs, and a Father of a very fine young Prince.

The Dauphin of France.

Of ſix Children which ſhe had brought into the World, *Lewis* the Dauphin of *France*, was the only ſurviving, a very Handſome, and Wiſe Prince, of great Moderation and Vigorous Conſtitution, as active and dextrous in his Military Exerciſes as courageous in encountring of Danger.

Never any Prince had the advantage of a more Noble Education, in reſpect of the Ability of thoſe to whoſe Care and Tuition he was committed; the King having made choice of *Charles de St. Maurice* Duke of *Montauſier*, and Peer of *France* for his Governour, and of *James Boſſuet* Biſhop of *Meaux*, ſo famous for his many Works, for his Preceptor; but not ſatisfied with this, he never was ſparing in his Paternal Care, to give him in Perſon all the neceſſary Inſtructions for the Accompliſhment of a great Prince. A King, who really loves his Subjects, does in vain ſtrive to raiſe the Glory of his Country by his great Actions, unleſs he alſo be careful to inſtruct his Succeſſour to follow his Footſteps, and to preſerve by his own Courage and Conduct the Reputation which he has acquired. It is

eaſie

eaſie to be imagined that there was never a Court in *Europe*, but what moſt earneſtly deſired to be joyn'd to us in Alliance by ſo advantageous a Match, eſpecially ſince that Engagement which was ſome Years before negotiated with the Elector and Electoreſs of *Bavaria*, on the account of Marriage betwixt the Dauphin and the Princeſs of *Bavaria*, ſeem'd to be broken by the Death of the Parents of the ſaid Princeſs; but notwithſtanding this Change, and that the ſaid Match was not attended with the ſame Advantages as before, the King jealous of his Honour and Royal Word, Married the Dauphin to their Eldeſt Daughter, on the 7th of *March* in the Year 1680. Dauphin *Married*.

Notwithſtanding all the Obſtacles and Difficulties raiſed by the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Miniſters about the execution of the Treaty of *Nimiguen*, *Europe* enjoyed the Fruits of a Happy Peace for three Years: In the mean while the King looking upon it as a moſt Glorious Work to turn his Arms againſt the Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Name, he reſolved to employ his Forces againſt the *Corſairs of Africa*, a Nation whoſe chief Glory, Commerce and Employment, conſiſts in pillaging and plundering; ſeveral of their Ships were ſunk, the Sieur *Du Queſne* burnt eight more in the Port of *Chio*, in the Year 1681, and the Marſhal *de Eſtree*, Vice-Admiral of *France*, Bombarded *Tripoli* four Years after, till at laſt at the Interceſſion of the *Grand Seignior*, the King was pleaſed to grant them a Peace a ſecond time. Tripoli *Bombarded in* 1685.

The

The *Algerines* the most famous of all the Pyrates on the Coast of *Barbary*, for having in the last Age out-braved the power of that great Monarch *Charles* V. were so presumptuous as to declare War against *France*. To chastise their Insolence, the City of *Algier* was Bombarded three several times; after the second Bombardment, they were forced to release six hundred *French* Slaves without Ransom; and in the third they received so much damage, that notwithstanding the Offers of the *Genoueses* and *Spaniards* to assist them against us, they sent their Deputies into *France* to sue for Peace. The *Genoueses* had also given great occasion of Displeasure to our King. They were accused of having fomented and encouraged a Conspiracy which was laid to burn the King's Ships and Gallies in the Ports of *Marseilles* and *Thoulon*; they had lately embraced the Interest and Protection of *Spain*, and had built four new Gallies in order to joyn them with the *Spanish* Squadron. To make them sensible of their errour, the King ordered the City of *Genoua* to be Bombarded. Thirteen Thousand Bombs were thrown into the City with good Success, and the proud City of *Genoua* would certainly have been laid quite in Ashes by a second Bombardment, if by the Intercession of the *Pope*, and their timely repentance, they had not prevented their own ruine.

In the Year 1682, 1683, 1684.

Genoua *Bombarded*

The King of *Spain* had at that time among other Titles, taken upon him that of the *Protector* of the Republick of *Genoua*, but could not prevail with our King that the said Commonwealth should be comprehended in the Truce,

Truce, which was about the ſame time concluded betwixt theſe two Crowns; but to extirpate their former Miſcarriages, they were forced to ſend in the Year 1685. in *May*, their Doge with four Senators, to make their Submiſſion to the King in the Name of the whole Republick, to implore his Mercy, and to receive ſuch Conditions as he was pleaſed to grant them.

But we have detain'd our ſelves too long in relating theſe Trifles, there are ſo many things of greater conſequence to be taken notice of in the glorious Reign of ſo great a King, that theſe frivolous Matters ought only to be touch'd upon *en paſſant*, that we may have the more leiſure to purſue the Thread of our Hiſtory in relation to other Affairs of moment.

By Vertue of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the whole Upper and Lower *Alſace* being granted to the King with an abſolute Soveraignty over it, and all its Dependencies, the King ſent the next following Year his Summons to all the Princes, Cities, and other Vaſſals depending on the ſaid Province, to give their appearance to do Homage and Swear Fealty to him. Some obeyed, but the moſt refuſed to appear. Upon their Refuſal, the King erected a certain Chamber of Re-union at *Briſack*, who adjudged their Lands and Fiefs forfeited to the King, according to the Laws of Fiefs, which enjoyn the forfeiture of the Eſtate of a Vaſſal, who either neglects or refuſes to pay the Homage due to his Lord.

At

Chambers of Re-union at Brisac and Metz.

At the same time the Chamber of Re-union established by the King's Order at *Brisac*, took the same Method in respect of those Fiefs, which had formerly belonged to, and were since dismembred from the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*. As these Re-unions extended over a vast Tract of Ground, so the Neighbouring Princes taking the alarm, made their complaints to the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*, solliciting for aid to stop the further progress of these Proceedings. They were not wanting on their side, to represent to the Dyet the pressing necessity of applying a speedy remedy, but they were very slow in their Debates, and much slower in their Resolutions. These Re-unions being look'd upon by some of the Princes of the Empire as an infraction of the Peace, whilst they pretended to evince them to be no more than the natural consequences of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the first were for taking up Arms for the Defence of the Empire, the others representing the danger of coming to these extremities in so critical a juncture.

Strasburgh Surrenders.

Whilst they thus spent their time in contests, without coming to any final resolution, the City of *Strasbourg*, the Capital of the *Lower Alsace*, and one of the most considerable in all *Germany*, submitted to the King in *September*, in the Year 1681, before the King's Forces, that were on their March from all the circumjacent Ports, in order to Besiege it, came in sight of the Place.

Casal Surrender'd.

They enter'd the City on the same Day that some of the King's Troops took possession of the Citadel of *Casal* in *Italy*, which the King

King had bought from the Duke of *Mantua*.

As the King ſet out on his Journey to *Straſburgh*, (before he had receiv'd the News of its Surrender) he pretended to take a Progreſs to one of his Country Houſes, but turning ſhort, took the Road towards *Germany*. Before he came to the Frontiers he was advertis'd that his Troops were already receiv'd within the City, but this did not hinder him from purſuing his Journey thither, where he receiv'd the Oath of Fidelity from his new Subjects.

The taking of this City, which was of vaſt conſequence, ſerv'd only to augment the diviſions among the Members of the Empire at the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*, the more, becauſe the King propos'd to adjuſt all thoſe Differences, if they pleas'd, in an irreconcilable way. The Miniſters of the Houſe of *Auſtria* at firſt rejected theſe Propoſitions, but dreading an Invaſion from the *Turks*, they gave their conſent, ſo that Plenipotentiaries were appointed on both ſides, to meet at *Frankfort* upon the *Main*, for ſetling the limits betwixt the Empire and *France*.

But a whole twelve Months being ſpent, before the Conferences were open'd, by reaſon of ſome conteſts about Titles and Precedency, betwixt the Deputies of the Emperor, and thoſe of the Empire, the King thought fit to recall his Plenipotentiaries, and to remove all occaſions of further delay, declared by his Miniſter *Lewis Verjus* Count of *Creci*, then reſiding at the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*, that he was willing to renounce for ever to all the other Dependencies of *Alſace*, and the

the three above-mention'd Bishopricks, notwithstanding that his Pretensions comprehended a vast tract of Ground, provided the Emperor, and the Empire, would, within a limitted time, oblige themselves to resign to him the City of *Strasbourg* with all its Territories, and those Lands which he was possessed off by vertue of the Re-union before the meeting of the Assembly at *Frankfort*. These Propositions were advantageous enough, forasmuch as thereby the limits of the Empire and *France* might be settl'd upon a sure Foot, and a firm Peace establish'd betwixt these two Potent Neighbours. The Electoral College were of opinion to accept of the Conditions, but most of the Princes being of a contrary sentiment, two years past without coming to a final Resolution, the King having from time to time prolong'd the prefix'd time, out of a pure motive to generosity, finding in most of the Members of the Dyet, a favourable Disposition for a Peace, at a time when they dreaded an Invasion from the *Turks*.

Siege of Vienna *in* 1683.

It was not long before, the *Ottoman* Army, like an impetuous Torrent, over-run all *Hungary*, and carrying all before them, marched up to the Gates of *Vienna*, which was Besieged by above an hundred thousand *Turks*. The Siege continued two Months, and the place was reduc'd to the last extremity, when upon the approach of the Imperial Army, and the Auxiliaries of the Empire, in conjunction with the *Poles*, commanded by *John Sobieski* their King, who with great Bravery attacked the Enemy in their Lines: The Visier was forc'd to raise the Siege. The Ministers of the

the House of *Austria* puff'd up with their late good success, press'd the Dyet more than ever, not to conclude either a Peace or Truce with *France*. But as such vast Empires have many ways to recover their losses, the *Turks*, notwithstanding their late defeat, appear'd again so formidable, that the Emperor and Empire, the better to enable themselves to resist them, or to extend their Conquests, accepted of the King's offers, and about ten Months after, concluded and Sign'd a Truce betwixt the Empire and *France* for twenty Years.

Truce for twenty Years.

Spain also agreed to a Truce upon the same conditions, to put an end to the differences for that time, arisen betwixt the King and them about the limits in *Flanders*. After the Ratification of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the King made reiterated instances to the *Spaniards*, to send certain Commissioners to adjust matters concerning the Dependencies of such Provinces and Cities as were granted to him by vertue of the late Peace. But the opening of these Conferences was delay'd for some time, till the King of *Spain* had sent his full Power and Instructions, which, when they were produc'd, it was found, that amongst his Titles, that of Count and Duke of *Burgundy* was left out. The next Year the Commissioners appointed by both Kings met again at *Courtray*, but the Ministers of *Spain* intended nothing less than to terminate these differences, but in lieu of it, left no Stone unturn'd to create new Jealousies (as much as in them lay) betwixt our King and the *Hollanders*. The City of *Alost* furnish'd them

with a fair opportunity to accompliſh their deſign; which place being accounted to be among the dependencies belonging to *France*, the States-General began to be extreamly allarm'd at this Pretenſion. They alledg'd, they had in vain beſtow'd ſo much labour and coſt to fix a certain Barrier betwixt the King and them, if this place ſo near to their Frontiers, whoſe Territories reach'd to the Gates of *Antwerp*, ſhould be put into his poſſeſſion. The King, to calm their minds, and deliver them from what they dreaded ſo much, offer'd to be contented with an equivalent; and the Council of *Spain* endeavouring to gain time by various Intrigues, he order'd the Blockade of *Luxemburgh*; but having receiv'd intelligence of the great Preparations made by the *Turks* to invade *Hungary*, he ſent his Orders to him who commanded in Chief, to raiſe the ſaid Blocade.

Courtray and Dixmuyden taken.

Spain was ſo far from being ſatisfied with this retreat, that in a little while after they began to commit open Hoſtilties. Whereupon the *French* beſieg'd *Courtray* in *November* in the Year 1683; both the City and Citadel Surrender'd in five Days; *Dixmuyden* without ſtriking one ſtroke. The *Spaniards*, tho' without Money or Troops, or any other hopes of relief, but what they expected from their Allies, whom they ſuppos'd would not leave them deſtitute upon ſo neceſſitous an occaſion, declar'd, in a Month after, War againſt *France*. But it was not long before they paid dear for their folly, the King's Troops having over-run, during the whole Winter, all *Flanders*, to the very Gates of *Bruſſels*, pillaging

ging and exacting Contributions from the flat Country; and towards the end of *April* in the Year 1684, a ſtrong Body was ſent to form the Siege of *Luxemburgh*.

This Place is very ſtrong both by Nature and Art, it being ſituate upon a Rock, ſurrounded on all ſides by a River. The King order'd a good Army to advance betwixt *Conde* and *Valenciennes* to cover the Siege. The Emperor was not wanting in his ſollicitations to the Dyet; and the Governor of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, as well as the Prince of *Orange*, made uſe of all their Intereſt, to engage the *Hollanders* to endeavour the relief of a Place which was of ſuch conſequence. But all in vain; for no ſuccours appearing, the Place was forc'd to Surrender, after a brave defence of ſeven and twenty Days after opening the Trenches. *Luxemburgh taken 1684.*

This done, the King offer'd to reſtore *Dixmuyden* and *Courtray*, and to renounce all his pretenſions, provided the *Spaniards* would put him in quiet poſſeſſion of *Beaumont*, *Bovines*, and *Chimay*, three ſmall places without any ſtrength, betwixt the *Sambre* and the *Meuſe*, and would reſign all their pretenſions to *Luxemburgh*, which was to be the King's for ever, with the fifteen Villages belonging to it. The *Spaniards* refus'd at firſt to hearken to theſe Propoſitions; but the *Dutch*, who made ſerious Reflections upon the preſent condition of the Empire; the heavy War wherein the Emperor was engag'd with the *Turks*, and the little hopes there was of receiving aid from *England*, partly by reaſon of the miſunderſtanding that was at that time betwixt King

Charles II. and his Parliament, partly becauſe they were too well acquainted with the Inclinations of that King, who prefer'd Peace and his Pleaſures before a War, oblig'd them to accept of theſe conditions. Thus in the Year 1684 a general Truce was concluded for twenty Years; the Emperor, *Spain*, and the Empire having Sign'd the Treaty within four days one after another.

Differences with the Pope.

But in the mean while that our King was applying his thoughts to re-eſtabliſh Peace in Chriſtendom with good ſucceſs, the differences ariſen betwixt our Court, and that of *Rome* encreaſed more and more every Day; the Pope being ſo far from hearkning to thoſe gentle means that were propos'd for an accommodation, that on the contrary his whole behaviour ſufficiently teſtify'd to the World, that he was reſolv'd to carry things to the utmoſt extremity.

The occaſion of the Quarrel was given by the *Regale*, which is a certain prerogative belonging to the Sovereign, by vertue of which they enjoy the benefit of the Revenues of the Biſhopricks, and the right of beſtowing all Dignities and Prebends, during the vacancies of the Epiſcopal Sees. But it is to be obſerv'd that the Provinces of *Guienne*, *Dauphine*, and *Languedoc*, pretended to be exempted from this rule, whether it were that the Law of Fiefs (which is ſuppos'd to be the Off-ſpring of the *Regale*, and by vertue of which the Lord enjoys the Revenues of the Fief, after the Death of a Vaſſal, till the time of the Inveſtiture of his legal Heir) was never introduc'd in thoſe Provinces, among a People that were

were very tenacious of their natural Liberty, or whether they enjoy'd this Prerogative by vertue of ſome particular privileges granted them by their Princes, before they were incorporated with the Crown of *France*, I will not pretend to determine.

In the Year 1608, the Parliament of *Paris*, (which alone takes cognizance and decides matters concerning the *Regale*) on occaſion of a conteſt about a Deanery, vacant in the Church of *Bellay*, declar'd by their Sentence on the 24th of *April*, that the King's prerogative or the *Regale*, ought to take place in all and every place belonging to the Kingdom, enjoyning the Lawyers not to argue any thing to the contrary. The Clergy being much alarm'd at this Novelty, made their application to King *Henry* IV. who order'd that this Sentence ſhould not be put in execution, till the whole matter had been further debated and adjudged by King and Council. Accordingly theſe Provinces, by their Deputies appear'd before the Council, and produc'd their Titles, by vertue of which they laid claim to theſe Privileges; they were taken into conſideration, but it hung in ſuſpenſe till the Year 1673, when after many Proceedings, which laſted near threeſcore Years, the Council confirm'd, in *February*, the Sentence of the Parliament of *Paris*; to wit, that the *Regale* ought to take place in all the Provinces and Territories under the King's Juriſdiction.

The pointed conteſt being chiefly concerning the Province of *Languedock*, all the Prelates of the ſaid Province ſubmitted to thi Decree, except the two Biſhops of *Alets*

and *Pamiers*, who made their appeal to the Pope. He was a Native of *Cosmo* in the *Milaneze*, his Name being *Benedict Odescalchi*, and afterwards assum'd that of *Innocent* XI. a Man of very Virtuous Inclinations, but sullen in his Temper; zealous to an excess, and too much addicted to his own Sentiments, which is the frailty of Men, that even the most Virtuous are too apt to indulge their own Humour; these Prelats having by their Letters, and Agents in their Audiences, represented the *Regale* to the Pope, as a point of Heresie sufficient to destroy the true ancient purity of Religion, he sent two Briefs to the King; and in a third, threatned the King no less than with the *Fulmen Papale*, or Thunderbolt of the Church, adding these following Words; *That he would be made sensible in time, that he did not oppose him alone, but Jesus Christ himself*, against whom all human Force and Prudenc could not avail.

Most People of sense and unbyas'd judgment, who made it their business to dive into the Mystery of this matter, could not but be amaz'd, to see the Pope oppose with so much violence so potent a King, and who had so lately given such eminent proofs of his Zeal for the Catholick Religion, barely on the account of the imaginary notion of the two Prelates. It was alledg'd by these wise Politicians, that the subjection of the Province of *Languedoc* under the Prerogative of the *Regale*, could not be imagin'd to be the true cause of the pretended affliction of the Church, no more than the same could be imputed to other Provinces, that at all times had submitted to the same Prerogative.

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A difference of this nature might have proved of very ill conſequence under another Reign, there being too many examples, when ſuch a ſpark has broke out into a flame, which all the art of Men has not been able to quench. It being unqueſtionable, that thoſe conteſts which ariſe with the Church are to be manag'd with a great deal of caution, and that it is ſometimes more conducible, to ſuffer with Patience, than to go about to ſet up a Reformation, which generally proves unſucceſsful, unleſs with the hazard of occaſioning a Schiſm in the Church.

There were not a few, who making ſerious Reflections upon theſe differences, were of opinion, that the Court of *Rome* was not ill pleas'd to have met with this opportunity of the *Regale*, and ſome other matters of the like nature to ſerve them as pretences to come to a rupture with us; it has been, ſaid they, the general Maxim of all the Popes for many Years laſt paſt, to keep up, as much as in them lay, the balance betwixt the moſt Potent Princes in *Europe*, for fear, leaſt one of them ſhould be put in a condition to preſcribe Laws to the reſt, *Italy*, and the Popedom it ſelf might be in danger of being ſwallow'd up by the moſt Potent. That it was upon this ſcore the Pope had laid hold of this ſpecious pretence, to joyn with the Confederates againſt *France*; the King's Reputation, Proſperity, and Power being rais'd to that pitch, as to give more occaſion of Jealouſie and fear to the other Princes at this time, than the over-grown greatneſs of *Charles* V. did in the laſt Age. The firm reſolution the Pope ſhew'd in ad-

hering to his first sentiments, without giving the least ear to the remonstrances made on our side, seem'd to intimate to the World, that these conjectures were not ill grounded.

The King, both for his own satisfaction, and to endeavour by all means possible to perswade the Pope to a compliance, sent the Cardinal *Cesar d'Estree*, in the quality of his Ambassador to *Rome*, a Man of a vast understanding, a great Divine, and a greater Politician, who besides that, had attain'd to a degree of Learning much above the common ranck; but neither the Conduct of this great Minister, nor the submission of the King, were prevailing enough with the Pope to make him alter his Sentiments.

Assemb'y of the French *Clergy* 1682.

The Bishops of *France* taking into their serious consideration, this unfortunate conjuncture, made their application to the King, desiring leave to call an Assembly of the Clergy, in order to concert such measures as might either satisfie the Pope, or if that did not succeed, might prevent the effects of his threats. The Assembly was very remarkable for its number, and the great capacity and known vertue of those that compos'd it. After having examin'd the Briefs, and well weighed the matter concerning the dispute about the *Regale*, the Clergy, with the King's approbation, came to this Resolution, that his Majesty was willing to renounce any thing depending on the *Regale*, that should be found contrary to the Discipline and Practice of the Church. This *Medium* appear'd to be much more advantageous to the Church in general, than the pretended exemption from the *Rega-*

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le could be to thoſe of *Languedock*; but this was ſo far from giving any real ſatisfaction to the Pope, that he look'd upon the whole tranſaction to be a Crime committed againſt his Authority; for which reaſon he ſent no other Anſwer to the Letter written to him in the Name of the Aſſembly, but a thundring Brief, in which he had annull'd all what had been done by them in this caſe.

The Clergy finding him more exaſperated than ever, to put ſome bounds to his Zeal, and to make him ſenſible that his Power was not unlimitted, publiſh'd their Opinions, in which they repreſented to the People, that they ought to pay all due reſpect to the Authority of the Vicar of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but that they ought not to ſtand in fear of his Power and threats, if they tranſgreſs'd their due bounds. It was at that time that the Clergy of *France* publiſh'd theſe following Propoſitions.

Propoſitions made in the Aſſembly of the French Clergy.

That the Pope, nor Church it ſelf have any abſolute or indirect power over Kings in temporal Affairs, that they can neither be depoſed, nor their Subjects Abſolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance.

That the General Councils are above the Pope.

That the Pope's Power ought to be limitted and regulated according to the Canons preſcrib'd by the Church; and that his deciſions are not infallible, unleſs with the approbation of the Church.

Theſe

These Propositions met with a very different reception in Foreign Countries. Some oppos'd them with all their might, and even in opposition to their Sovereigns, condemn'd them, as containing a new broach'd Doctrine. But there were also many others who being of a contrary sentiment, maintain'd in their Writings, that this Doctrine was so far from being new fram'd, that it had been always taught and practis'd in the Church, before the eleventh Century. They represented to the World, that Pope *Gregory* VIII. upheld by the vast Treasures of the Countess *Mathilde*, had been the first who had been so bold as to pretend to depose an Emperor, laying hold of the opportunity that offer'd to encrease his Power by the Intestine Divisions and Civil Wars, which at that time had reduc'd the *German* Empire to the brink of destruction. That for the first thousand Years, the Popes had always submitted themselves to the Authority of the General Councils, and that by their own confession, they had acknowledg'd themselves to be under a more strict obligation than others, to observe their Canons and Decrees.

There were others also, who look'd upon this Declaration of the Assembly of the *French* Clergy as very seasonable, at a time when the Court of *Rome* in all outward appearance, had no other difference with the King but only to maintain the Privileges of some of the *French* Churches: To be short every one judg'd of the matter according to his Passion, it being no new thing that Interest

reſt is for the moſt part the fundamental Rule of any Doctrine.

But certain it is, that the Pope was ſo incens'd at the Declaration of the *French* Clergy, that when the King afterwards had nominated ſome of the Members of the Aſſembly, to ſupply the vacant Biſhops Sees, the Pope refus'd to approve of them, alledging that they had given their conſent without ſufficiently weighing the matter, to a Doctrine directly oppoſite to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Papal Chair. It was repreſented to him that theſe conteſts were no Articles of Faith, but in vain, for without being mov'd at our Remonſtrances, he left above thirty Churches vacant in *France*, rather than he would grant his Bulls to any of thoſe that had been Members of the Aſſembly.

The Pope's refuſal was look'd upon as very unſeaſonable, at a time, when moſt of the Churches in *France*, ſtood more than ever in need of the preſence of their Biſhops; the King applied all his care to root out *Calviniſm* in his Dominions. A moſt ſurpriſing undertaking, both in reſpect of the greatneſs of the deſign, and the many difficulties that were to be ſurmounted before it could be put in execution. This Sect began firſt under the Reign of *Francis* I. neither appear'd they very conſiderable in the time of *Henry* II. but under the Reigns of his Children, they began to be ſo formidable, that they ſeiz'd upon many Cities, demoliſh'd the Churches, beat down the Altars, and broke the Images, committing ſuch unheard of outrages in all places where they were Maſters, that they did even not ſpare

Calviniſm *rooted out in* France

ſpare the grave of the Dead. After above a Million of brave Men who were deſtroy'd in the Maſſacre, in four pitch'd Battles, in the Sieges and Defence of ſeveral hundred places, and in above three hundred Engagements, they remain'd yet ſo Potent, at the time of *Henry* IV. that to reſtore Tranquillity to the Kingdom, he was forc'd to grant them liberty of Conſcience, many Churches in all parts of *France*, Judges of their own Perſwaſion, and beſides, a free acceſs to all places of Honour and Dignities, to give them great ſums of Money to pay off their Troops, and an hundred places as pledges of their future ſecurity, and to ſettle certain Funds to maintain both their Preachers and Garriſons.

King *Lewis* XIII. having, after a moſt bloody War which laſted ſeven Years, taken from them and deſtroy'd theſe Sanctuaries, the publick Nurſeries of Sedition and Rebellion, they were ever ſince without any places of Refuge, or Head, being diveſted of all their Troops and ſtrong holds; nevertheleſs they encreas'd daily in number, ſo that at the time of the King's acceſſion to the Throne, they were computed to exceed two Millions.

The King immediately after he had taken the management of Affairs into his own Hands, prompted by a moſt laudable Zeal for the true Religion, and taking into ſerious conſideration their many revolts, their dangerous correſpondence with Foreign Princes, the ſeveral Conſpiracies fomented by them within the Realm, the Cruelties executed by them in former Reigns, had at that time taken a firm Reſolution to root out that Faction. But the

the first Years of his Reign being for the most part taken up with the reformation of the State, and the heavy Wars he was afterwards oblig'd to carry on against his Neighbours that were grown jealous of his prosperity, had made him to lay aside this design, or at least, till a happy Peace should furnish him with a more favourable opportunity. After a Sect has once got sure footing in a State, the most violent must serve only to make them the more inveterate, as too much lenity makes them on the other Hand the more bold and encroaching. The best way to humble them, and to make them dwindle away to nothing, is a prudent mixture of severity and indulgence, according to the different circumstances of time, the greatest part of Mankind being more inclin'd to be govern'd by fear, than the dictates of right Reason.

The King being willing to make use of all possible means to suppress this Heresie without much noise and trouble, exhorted the *French* Bishops to take care, that the points in Controversie betwixt the *Catholicks* and *Calvinists*, should be fundamentally treated of in the Pulpits, especially in those places that were mostly inhabited by the last, and that a good number of Prudent and Zealous Missionaries should be sent among them, who by their Instructions and good Examples, might bring back these lost Sheep to the Sheep-fold. To back their Zeal and Endeavours by his Royal Authority, he promised ample Rewards, Honours, and Privileges to such of his Subjects as would return into the bosom of the Church. and to punish those that remain'd obstinate;

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he not only excluded them from his Houſe-hold, and all other employments of Honour or Profit, but order'd alſo that Soldiers ſhould be quarter'd in their Houſes, till ſuch time that they might be prevail'd upon to change their Opinion. In ſuch a caſe as this it is not ſufficient to give good and wholeſome Inſtructions, there being a certain benummedneſs (as it may be ſaid) in Mankind, which oweing its Off-ſpring to a long Cuſtom, makes them look with too much indifferency after the means of their Salvation, unleſs they be ſpurr'd on by fear. Moſt Men are ſo prepoſſeſſed with prejudices, eſpecially if degenerated into a habit of careleſneſs, that they think it ſcarce ever worth their while to make a due ſearch after Truth, unleſs they be forc'd thereunto by the apprehenſions of danger, and the deſire of living in quiet.

The King order'd all the Courts of Juſtice, erected by vertue of the Edict of *Nantes*, to be aboliſh'd, and in lieu of them made ſeveral Laws in favour of the Catholick Religion, which debarr'd them from that pernicious liberty of abjuring the true Religion, and thoſe of the Proteſtants who had embrac'd it, to return to their former Errors, and Hereſie, under ſevere puniſhments; to ſhut up all ſuch Churches as receive them, and to forbid the Miniſterial Function to their Preachers. But theſe were too fond of maintaining and encouraging their Faction, to give ear to the King's Commands, who, to puniſh their diſobedience, order'd many of their Churches to be pull'd down, and laid level with the ground; eſpecially in ſuch places where the

Calviniſts

had exercis'd their Divine Worſhip, contrary even to thoſe Edicts which were made in their behalf. It is in this place that with all the reaſon in the World may be apply'd this ſaying, *That there are certain Truths which appear ſo little probable, that they reſemble more a Fable than Truth it ſelf.* Will it not appear incredible to Poſterity, when they ſhall read that we have ſeen in our times ſo ſtrong a Faction dwindle away to nothing, without any violence or commotion? For in four or five Years time whole Cities were re-united to the Obedience of the Church, who had this comfort to ſee by the conduct of her eldeſt Son, Two Millions of her Children return into her Boſom. Thus the King in the Year 1685, on the 22th of *October*, annull'd the Edicts of *Nantes* and *Niſmes*, their Churches were all laid level with the Ground, their Miniſters baniſh'd the Kingdom, and *Calviniſm* was entirely rooted out without the leaſt commotion.

As by theſe ſo many and great Actions the love which the People bore to the King encreaſed more and more every Day, ſo it is ſcarce to be expreſs'd with what a general conſternation the whole Kingdom was ſeiz'd, when about a Year after, his Life was in danger. For ſeven or eighth Months before, he had been much out of order, having at ſeveral times been ſeized either with a Fever or ſome other Diſtemper, till at laſt it breaking out into an Ulcer, an inciſion was judg'd the only remedy againſt the Evil, which being applied accordingly, prov'd ſo dangerous, that he could not poſſibly have eſcaped with his Life *In* Decem. 1678.

Life, if the Fever had return'd. But the cauſe of it is attributed by many to the exceſs of fear, which ſeizes the faint-hearted Patient in ſuch an operation; ſo the King having born it without the leaſt commotion, he ſcarce found any alteration, having receiv'd the viſits of many the ſame Day, appear'd in Council the next, and during the whole time he was afflicted with this Evil (which laſted above five Weeks) he manag'd all State-Affairs, and diſpatch'd his Orders with the ſame activity as he was us'd to do before.

As long as he was judg'd to be in danger, the whole Kingdom offer'd up their Vows for his recovery. Nothing was more frequent than to ſee the Handycrafts Men leave their Employments, and to run in prodigious numbers to the Churches, which were always full from Morning till Night; the People flocking in vaſt numbers to Pray for the King's Health. But as they had given moſt evident proofs of their ſorrow and grief hitherto, ſo they ſtrove to out-do one another in their demonſtrations of Joy at his Recovery; the rejoycings made upon this Occaſion being riſen to that degree of extravagancy, that it was judged convenient to put a ſtop to them by publick Authority. But if his recovery fill'd all his Subjects with joy and ſatisfaction, his Enemies, jealous of his greatneſs, were the more ſurpriſed, when they found themſelves deceiv'd in their expectation.

It was above a Year ſince the Prince of *Orange*, the Miniſters of the Emperor, and the Duke of *Neuburgh* had fomented the jealouſie, which the other Princes of *Europe* had conceiv-

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ved at our King's Proſperity. The Duke of *Neuburgh* eſpecially, being a very active Prince, and a great Politician, who never miſs'd the leaſt opportunity of promoting his own Intereſts, had made many Cabals againſt *France*, eſpecially in *Germany*, and *Spain*, where by his perſwaſions he animated theſe Princes to enter into a League againſt us, inſinuating to them, the danger that threatned them ſince the concluſion of the Truce made at *Ratisbonne* in the Year 1684, which he repreſented to them more diſgraceful than the Peace it ſelf made at *Nimeguen*, and that therefore it would be more for their Intereſt to take up Arms for the recovery of their Loſſes and Reputation, an open War being leſs dangerous, than to ſuffer *France* to bid defiance to them in the midſt of Peace; that they could ſcarce hope for a more favourable juncture than this, the preſent greatneſs of *France* being owing to their King, whoſe health being now impair-ed to that degree, as not to be able to get on Horſeback, and to animate his Subjects by his Preſence.

Theſe inſinuations and intrigues were at laſt ſo prevailing, that in the Year 1686, in *July*, an Alliance was concluded at *Augsburgh* againſt *France*, betwixt the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the States-General of the United Provinces, the Elector *Palatin*, and the Electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*, many Catholick, and generally all the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*.

After the taking of *Luxemburgh*, and the concluſion of the Truce, the King had ſhewn more inclination than ever to maintain the

Peace of *Christendom*; he had let the Emperor gain several Battles, and Conquer a whole Kingdom, without any opposition, or making the least Diversion, which might in all probability have prevented the Imperialists from extending their Conquests, and ruining the *Ottoman* Empire, which seem'd at that time to be brought to the very brink of destruction. And notwithstanding that the Duke of *Neuburgh* by his Conduct, had given sufficient reason to the King to make him feel the effects of his Indignation, nevertheless he resolv'd rather to sacrifice his present resentments to the interest of Christendom, than by sending an Army towards the *Rhine* to obstruct the progress of the Christian Arms against the Infidels.

The first Spouse of the present Duke of Orleans *was* Henriette Anne, *Daughter to K.* Ch. I. *of* England.

In the mean time the Elector *Palatin* happen'd to die without Issue, who being succeeded in the Electorate by the Duke of *Neuburgh*, *Charlotte Elizabeth* of *Bavaria*, the lately deceas'd Elector's Sister, and now Dutchess of *Orleans*, demanded from the new Elector all the moveables, Allodian Lands, and Fiefs belonging to her Family. The new Elector did consent to give her all the moveables, but refus'd to restore the rest, of which he had taken possession. The better to back his pretensions, the Duke of *Orleans* was forc'd to make his application to the King, to lend him a sufficient number of Forces to put himself in possession of those Fiefs, which by Inheritance belong'd to his Dutchess. This seem'd to be the most favourable opportunity that could be expected for the King to chastise the Elector *Palatin*; but his inclinations for the

the maintaining Tranquillity in *Chriſtendom* prevailing over all other conſiderations, he would not conſent at that time, that the Duke of *Orleans*, his Brother, ſhould proſecute his right by force of Arms, but prevail'd with him to leave the whole matter of the deciſion to the Pope.

The Heads of this new Confederacy imputing this condeſcenſion of our King either to the preſent condition of his Affairs, or the ill ſtate of his health, left no ſtone unturn'd, eſpecially in the Court of *Rome*, to prepoſſeſs the Pope with fears and jealouſies againſt us. He being extreamly rejoyc'd at the happy progreſs of the Emperor's Arms in *Hungary*, it was not without a great deal of ſatisfaction, that he ſaw our King give ſuch eminent demonſtrations of his moderation, as not in the leaſt to obſtruct their Conqueſts, beſides which he could not be ſufficiently ſenſible of theſe freſh demonſtrations of the King's confidence in him, in having left the difference about the Inheritance of the Palatinate to his Arbitration. But the Emperor's Miniſters had ſo much the aſcendant over him, that by their inſinuations, they ſtifled all the favourable Sentiments he had conceiv'd for the Intereſt of *France*; and on the other Hand, had ſo deeply engag'd him in their Party, that he only wanted an opportunity or a pretext to come to a rupture with us; it was not long before he thought to have met with the moſt favourable one that could be wiſh'd for, when a diſpute aroſe about the Franchiſes of the Quarters of Ambaſſadors.

Differences about the privileges of the Ambassadors Quarters at Rome.

The Palaces of Foreign Ambassadors belonging not so much to themselves as those Kings and Princes whom they represent, ought at all times to be respected as such, and for this reason it is, that by the Law of Nations they are accounted Sacred and Unviolable. The Ambassadors of Crown'd Heads residing at *Rome* entertain generally a vast Retinue, so that their Palaces being seldom large enough to contain so great a number of Domesticks, they are frequently oblig'd to dispose of some of them in the next adjacent Houses, which upon that account were always esteem'd at *Rome* as belonging to and enjoying the same Privileges with the Ambassador's Palace it self. for which reason the Officers of Justice were not allow'd to do their Office in these places, which were look'd upon as a Sanctuary. But it happen'd frequently, that the Ambassadors Domesticks, and sometimes they themselves made but ill use of this Privilege, which made several Popes forbid their Subjects, under very severe punishments, to seek for refuge in the Ambassador's Quarters, and order'd their Judges not to suffer any thing like it for the future. But notwithstanding all these precautions, the Ambassadors had maintain'd themselves in their right, till Pope *Innocent* XI. seem'd resolv'd to abolish them for ever.

For which purpose, he immediately after the Death of *Francis Hannibal*, Duke *d'Estrees*, (Brother to the Cardinal of the same Name) the King's Ambassador at *Rome*, by his Bull Excommunicated all such as should pretend to maintain the said Franchises of Quarters, and all

all thoſe Offenders that ſhould pretend to ſeek for refuge in thoſe places. His judgment appear'd too much inclining to ſeverity by the conſent of all the World; it being alledg'd, that ſince the Thunderbolt of the Church ought not to aim at any others but hainous Offenders, why ſhould it ſtrike at theſe, who perhaps, by misfortune being fallen into an error, or debts, ſhelter themſelves in thoſe places for the preſervation of their lives and liberty. After the publication of this Bull, *Henry Charles de Beaumonvil*, Marquis of *Leverdin*, who ſucceeded the Duke *d'Eſtrees* in the ſame ſtation at *Rome*, and been preſent at Maſs at Chriſtmaſs-Eve in the Year 1686, in the Pariſh Church of St. *Lewis*, the Cardinal Vicar taking it for granted, that the Ambaſſador was fallen under the cenſure of the above-mention'd Bull, order'd the ſaid Church to be ſhut up; but two Months after the ſaid Judgment was revok'd, and the Church opened again, notwithſtanding the ſaid Ambaſſador had not given the leaſt ſatisfaction, or any demonſtrations of Repentance.

The ſaid Ambaſſador being, ſince his arrival at *Rome*, not admitted to the Audience of the Pope, no body knew whether he had put himſelf into the poſſeſſion of the Franchiſes of the Quarters, in order to maintain, or elſe to reſign them into the Pope's Hands; having hitherto acted with ſo much circumſpection, as to this point, that it was the opinion of moſt People, that he had receiv'd Orders from the King to renounce them, ſince he had not forc'd all ſuſpitious Perſons to leave his Quarters, but alſo giving ſtrict Orders to his Do-

meſticks not to give reception to any for the future. As there had not been any body to ſee him from the Pope, ſo he had not receiv'd the leaſt notice of this Bull againſt the Franchiſes of the Quarters, tho' it was evident that it had been publiſh'd a conſiderable time before his arrival; ſo that if the high Character he bore in the *Romiſh* Court had not been a ſufficient protection for him againſt the cenſure of this Bull, it would have proved a very difficult task to evince that conſider'd only as a private Man, he had fallen under the ſaid Cenſure. Notwithſtanding all this the Pope remain'd inflexible to all the remonſtrances of the Ambaſſador, who could never obtain to be admitted to his Audience.

The Allies finding the Pope's reſolute diſpoſition ſo highly favourable to their preſent deſign, made uſe of this opportunity, to bring over ſome of the *Catholick* Princes, that hitherto had not ſhew'd much forwardneſs to enter into the Confederacy, by which means they hop'd to ſtrengthen their Party to ſuch a degree, as to be able to cope with the power of *France*; for which reaſon alſo the Elector *Palatin* made preſſing inſtances at the Emperor's (his Father-in-Law's) Court, to conclude a Peace with the *Ottoman* Port, and to ſacrifice ſome of his Conqueſts in *Hungary* to enable them to proſecute the War with the more vigour near the *Rhine*. The *Turks* ſhew'd about that time great Inclinations for a Peace, which they ſtood much in need of, to recover themſelves of the loſſes and troubles, which their misfortunes abroad and Inteſtine Diviſions at home had caus'd in their Empire;

Empire; But having obſerv'd the Imperialiſts to act with too much eagerneſs in what they deſir'd themſelves, they began to take freſh Courage and Reſolution not to make Peace, unleſs upon very good terms. Peace is a thing ſo good and deſirable in it ſelf, as ought not eaſily to be refus'd, when offer'd, but nevertheleſs it is not always advantageous to act in a matter of ſuch conſequence with too much precipitation. In the mean while the Confederates left no ſtone unturn'd to ſtrengthen their Party near the *Rhine*, by the choice of a new Elector of *Cologne*, ſuch a one as they knew to be abſolutely devoted to their Intereſt, and who ſhould grant a free paſſage to their Troops upon all occaſions. The old Archbiſhop was ſo aged and decay'd in ſtrength, that ſeeing but little probability to live many Years longer, he gave leave to the Chapter of *Cologne* to chuſe a Coadjutor. The Elector *Palatin* being a Prince who knew how to improve all opportunities to his own advantage, made uſe of all his Intereſt to advance one of the Princes his Sons to that Dignity, being ſenſible that if he could ſucceed in this deſign, to make one of them Coadjutor of this Biſhoprick, and conſequently thereby to make himſelf Maſter of two Electorates, there was nothing ſo great, that he might not hope for in time; and there were not a few who ſuſpected, that notwithſtanding this ſtrict Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he had not laid aſide all thoughts of meeting with a favourable opportunity to make way for his Sons to the Empire. However it was, both the Emperor and *Hollanders* made uſe of

The Affairs of Cologne 1688.

all their Interest to back his pretensions, but all their intrigues prov'd of so little effect, that of two and twenty of which the Chapter was compos'd, nineteen gave their Voices for *William Eugene* of *Furstembergh*, Cardinal and Bishop of *Strasburgh*, Dean of the Church, and Chief Minister of the Archbishop of *Cologne*. The extraordinary merits of the Cardinal, his great Age and Experience, his past Services, but above all the recommendations both of our King, and the Archishop of *Cologne* had been so prevailing with them, as to prefer him before all others. But these reasons were not convincing enough to his Holiness, who in opposition to all the remonstrances made to him in the Cardinal's behalf, persisted in his resolution of not confirming the said *Postulation*, tho' it was confess'd on all sides, that every thing had been transacted in due form, and that his Confirmation was look'd upon as the most proper means to secure the Peace of Christendom. The King writ a Letter to the Pope with his own Hand, which being given to a trusty Messenger, the said Envoy shew'd the Letter to the Ministers of his Holiness, and without discovering to them his Instructions, told them that he had something to propose to the Pope in the King's Name, which would give him all imaginable satisfaction. But what is more frequent, than to see even the wisest to be mistaken, when they are only guided and rely too much upon their own Counsels? For, how dangerous soever the consequences of this refusal were represented to the Pope, he could not be prevail'd upon to receive either

ther the Letter, or to admit the Envoy into his preſence.

In the mean while that theſe conteſts were in agitation in the Court of *Rome*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* came to die, and the Confederates to counter-balance the Intereſt of the Cardinal of *Furſtenbergh*, rais'd up Prince *Clement*, Brother to *Maximilian* II. the preſent Elector of *Bavaria*, as a Competitor againſt him. He was a young Prince of no ſmall hopes, but being not then above ſeventeen Years of Age, and no Member of the Chapter of *Cologne*. the Pope was forc'd to recede at this juncture from his wonted rigor and the ſtrict rules of the Church Canons, and to grant him a Diſpenſation to qualifie him to be Elected Archbiſhop of the ſaid Church. The Confederates ſtrengthned by the Pope's Brief ſpared neither threats, offers, nor promiſes or intrigues. And the Emperor's Envoy told in the Aſſembly of the Chapter, and in the preſence of the Cardinal himſelf, that if they choſe the Cardinal they muſt expect to be depriv'd of all their privileges. But notwithſtanding all theſe violent proceedures, fourteen remain'd ſtedfaſt to the Cardinal, there being only nine that gave their voices for Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*.

Prince Clement *of* Bavaria *Elect. of* Cologne.

The deciſion of this grand affair belonging to the Court of *Rome*, both theſe Competitors back'd by the intereſt of thoſe Princes that had eſpous'd their Quarrel, made all their credit to obtain their Confirmation by the Pope's Bull, who call'd together a Congregation ſtrictly to examine the matter in all its circumſtances. But a buſineſs of ſuch vaſt conſe-

quence, and that in ſo nice a juncture, was not likely to be decided by ſuch formalities as thoſe, but by the powerful influence of the ſtronger party. The Enemies of *France* were not backward to repreſent to the Pope, that by making the Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, was in effect, to put our King in the poſſeſſion of *Cologne* and the whole Electorate; that the King when once Maſter of *Cologne*, would in a little time be alſo Maſter not only of the Low-Countries, but alſo of the Empire it ſelf, *Cologne* being the Gate which open'd the way into the Empire to over-run the neighbouring Countries at pleaſure. There needed no more to create a jealouſie in the Pope, who being already prepoſſeſs'd either with a prejudice or ill will againſt the Cardinal, and with a fear of augmenting the King's Power, was ready enough to give ear to the inſinuations of theſe Emiſſaries, and to exclude the Cardinal from the hopes of the Archbiſhoprick, in preferring a Prince of ſeventeen Years, before him, whom he himſelf thought worthy of the Cardinal's Cap.

The King takes up Arms in 1688.

Our King having thus in vain try'd all poſſible means to preſerve the Peace of Chriſtendom, took at laſt a reſolution to come to a rupture with the Pope, and without any diminution to the reſpect due to the Holy Chair, to defend himſelf againſt his Aggreſſors, chuſing rather to carry the War into his Enemies Countries, than to expect it in his own. To divert the ſtorm that was ariſing from *Rome*, he order'd his Attorney-General to bring in an Appeal to the next General Council, againſt all the injuſtices receiv'd, or which for

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the future might be to be fear'd from the Pope's partiality. This kind of Appeal, when founded upon juſt reaſons, making void and ineffectual all the Church Cenſures intended againſt this Act, the King could not have pitch'd upon a more Prudent and Commodious expedient to prevent the Popes future reſolutions of hurting him, or at leaſt to take away the means of puting them in Execution.

He publiſh'd at the ſame time a *Manifeſto*, containing the reaſons which had oblig'd him to take up Arms once more; and, as his chief deſign was rather to be upon the defenſive than to act offenſively againſt his Enemies, the ſaid *Manifeſto* had much more reſemblance to a new project of Peace, than to a Declaration of War. For the King propoſed. *In* Sept. 1688.

To put an end to the differences in Hand by an amicable compoſition, in reference to the Succeſſion in diſpute, concerning the Fiefs in the *Palatinate*.

He offer'd to demoliſh *Friburgh* and *Philipsbourg*, after he ſhould become Maſter of the laſt; provided the Emperor and Empire would agree on their ſide to convert the twenty Years Truce into a Peace, and would leave the Cardinal of *Furſtemburgh* in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick, and the Chapter of *Cologne* in the enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges.

To back theſe pretenſions by the force of his Arms, he order'd a good Army to advance towards *Philipsburgh*, which was beſieged by the *Dauphin* on the ſixth of *October*. *Philipſburgh taken in* 1688

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This being the first time that the Prince appear'd at the head of an Army in the Field, he gave such eminent proofs both of his Valour and Conduct in this Campaign, which lasted not above six Weeks, that thereby he gain'd the esteem of the whole *French* Army. There were many difficulties to be surmounted in this Siege, the far advanc'd Season, continual Rains, and situation of the Place, which was surrounded with marshy Grounds, and the resolution of the Governor, who defended himself with great bravery, were such obstacles as seem'd to render the success of this Enterprise very doubtful. But the Place being destitute of all hopes of relief, and not in a condition to resist any longer the fury of our Bombs, and vigorous Attacks, was forc'd to Capitulate on the twenty ninth of *October*, and the *Dauphin* celebrated his Birth-day three Days after being the first of *November*, by his Solemn Entry into the Place.

During the Siege of *Philipsburgh* the King reiterated his former instances for the conclusion of a Peace, in hopes, that these lightnings being the fore-runners of those thunder-claps that threatned the adjacent Countries, might serve as a warning to the Confederates. But finding all his endeavours in vain, and fore-seeing he must prepare himself to sustain a long War, he order'd the *Dauphin* to make himself Master of the whole *Palatinate*, by the Conquest of the strong Fortresses of *Manheim* and *Frankendal*, and at the same time, sent several flying Armies towards *Spires*, *Mayence*, *Treves*, and *Wormes*, to take possession of these places; by which means

The Conquest of the Palatinate *in* 1688.

means he did not queſtion but to oblige the Enemies either to accept of a Peace, or at leaſt to put them under a neceſſity of regaining theſe places with vaſt charges and great loſs of their Men, which had only coſt him the trouble of being ſeiz'd upon by his Troops.

AN

AN *ESSAY* UPON THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF *LEWIS* the *GREAT.*

LIB. V.

THE whole *German* Empire was extreamly alarm'd at these Conquests made by our King's Forces, but they were so far from being cast down at their loss, that on the contrary, they seem'd to have

have assum'd new Courage; each Circle in particular dreading the neighbourhood of so potent a Prince, strove to out-vye the other in making new Levies with great expedition, without entring upon the dispute (as they us'd to do formerly) about the Quota each of them was to furnish for the defence of the Empire. All the Electors and Princes of *Germany*, not excepting even the Elector of *Bavaria*, declar'd unanimously against *France*, notwithstanding the Sister of the last was Married to the *Dauphin*. He had signaliz'd himself upon several occasions in *Hungary*, and was now resolv'd to maintain his Brother in the Archbishoprick of *Cologne*; besides, that he was flatter'd with the hopes of Succession in *Spain*. These Obligations were so prevailing with this Prince, that contrary to the Maxim practis'd in the House of *Bavaria* for many Years past, to balance the power of the House of *Austria*, he became one of the Heads and the most passionate adherents to the Confederacy.

The whole Empire declares against France.

It is scarce possible to be conceiv'd that so many Sovereigns as compose the *German* Empire should be sway'd by the same interest, and be all of the same opinion, the more, since History can scarce furnish us with an instance for many Ages past, when they have been thus united in one League, especially in espousing the Emperor's Quarrel, it being look'd upon as one of the fundamental Maxims to maintain the Liberty of the Empire, rather to diminish than to favour the designs and growing power of their Emperors. It appear'd to most Politicians, a thing the most improbable

bable in the World, to see these Princes so forward in running themselves in a War, the benefit whereof would only redound to the Emperor, whilst they in the mean while disinabled themselves to resist his power, when at any time hereafter he should meet with a favourable juncture to fall upon them.

Notwithstanding the conjunction of the forces of *Germany*, the Emperor and Empire scarce thinking themselves strong enough to resist the King's Victorious Arms without further supplies, they made their applications to all the Princes of *Europe*, even the King of *Poland*, and to the other Northern Princes, who by their vast distance seem'd to have but little concerns in the affairs of those parts of *Europe*. The *Swiss Cantons* were more than once sollicited to enter into the Confederacy, or at least to grant a free passage to their Troops. But as they did not fear their threats, so they rejected all their advantageous offers, persisting in their resolution, to keep an exact neutrality, according to the examples of their Ancestors, who thereby drew the Money of the neighbouring Countries into their Country, and made themselves to be esteemed and courted by the most powerful Princes of *Europe*. among all the Princes of *Italy*, tho' there were very few but what were glad to see a check put to the King's power, yet not one declar'd against us except *Victor Amadeus* II. the present Duke of *Savoy*.

The Glorious Name of being Generalissimo over a great Army, which the Confederates had promis'd to send to his assistance, the

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fair proſpect of enriching himſelf by the great ſubſidies from *England* and *Holland*; the hopes of having a ſhare in the Conqueſts which the Allies propos'd to make upon *France*, and to make a better Figure in *Europe* than he had done hitherto; all theſe fair pretenſions, I ſay, were motives ſtrong enough to induce that Duke to refuſe all the King's offers of a Neutrality, and to joyn with the Confederates againſt us. The War in *Piedmont* is always extreamly chargeable to *France*; all the Cannon, Ammunition, and Proviſions, muſt be carried upon Mules thro' impaſſable Roads, and our Troops could not but ſuffer great inconveniencies in paſſing and re-paſſing theſe inacceſſible Mountains, ſo that nothing could be more advantageouſly contriv'd for the Intereſt of the Confederates, than to oblige our King to carry on a War on that ſide, where beſides all the before-mention'd inconveniencies, our Frontiers lay expos'd to our Enemies; it having been always the Intereſt of *Savoy* to keep a good correſpondence with *France*, and the ſtrict Alliances betwixt theſe two Courts, the King's reputation and ſtrength having been look'd upon as a ſufficient ſafe-guard and Bullwark for the ſecurity of our Frontiers in thoſe parts. It was upon this account that the Allies flatter'd themſelves with the hopes of making a powerful irruption upon us, and to penetrate into the very heart of the Kingdom on this ſide, where it was leaſt defenſible; but tho' they promis'd themſelves no ſmall advantages from this diverſion, the main foundation of their hopes was laid on the expected change of

The Duke of Savoy enters into the Confederacy.

affairs in *England*, which prov'd to their ſatisfaction, at a time when it was not ſo much as dream'd of by us.

There ſeems to be a great ſympathy betwixt the Climate and the humour of the *Engliſh* Nation, the Government being ſubject to as many Revolutions, as the weather is changeable in that Iſland, which, tho' very frequent here, yet are nothing the leſs ſurpriſing in their events. The great diverſity of Religions, which has been introduc'd ſince the time of their ſeparation from the ancient Church, is an inexhauſtible ſcource of the many inteſtine troubles and diviſions, which at ſeveral times have brought this Monarchy to the very brink of ruin.

Revolution in England 1688.

James II. when Duke of *York*, was upon the point of having been excluded from the ſucceſſion of the Crown by one of the Houſes of Parliament, notwithſtanding which, he mounted the Throne, after the Death of his Brother, with the general Acclamation of the People, at a time when he made publick profeſſion of the *Roman* Religion. This Noble confidence of not diſſembling his Religion, ſtood him in no ſmall ſtead with the *Engliſh*, who look'd upon this his greatneſs of mind, as a pledge of their future ſafety, and that his Word would at all times ſtand inviolable to protect their Laws and Liberties. But it was not long before they chang'd their ſentiments, the whole Nation being alarm'd at the Zeal they obſerv'd in him of advancing the *Roman Catholicks*, which was improv'd to the King's diſadvantage by a contrary Faction, who nois'd it about in the ears of the People,

People, that his main deſign was to overturn their Laws, and to eſtabliſh upon their ruins an Arbitrary power. The whole Kingdom being put into confuſion and fears, they began to enter into an Aſſociation, headed by the Chief Men among the Commons, and moſt of the Nobility, who under hand treated with *Holland*, and obtain'd powerful ſuccours with ſo much ſecreſy, that there was not the leaſt thing diſcover'd of it, till a few Months before the arrival of the Prince of *Orange* at the head of an Army in *England*. The train was ſo well laid, and the whole matter ſo well tim'd, that when the Prince of *Orange* landed in *Torbay* with twenty thouſand Men, both the Nobility and Gentry flock'd to him in great numbers, all the Cities open'd their Gates, both the Fleet and Army declar'd for him, and abandon'd their King's Intereſt, that to ſave his Life, or at leaſt to preſerve his Liberty, he was oblig'd to fly and ſeek for refuge in *France*. A moſt notable inſtance of the inſtability of all human greatneſs! If this Prince had accepted of our King's offers, Things would in all probability never have been brought to that extremity; for no ſooner had his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty been adverti's'd of what was in agitation in *Holland*, but he ſent word to the King of *England*, that he would either ſend a *French* Army to his aſſiſtance, or elſe by giving a powerful diverſion to the *Dutch*, prevent their deſign againſt him. But the King of *England*, who flatter'd himſelf with theſe hopes, that the Prince of *Orange* being his Nephew and Son-in-Law, would ſcarce be prevail'd upon to

head a Faction againſt him, and that if he ſhould have any ſuch intention, his Fleet and Army were a ſufficient guard to him againſt any attempts of the *Dutch*, was not, till it was too late convinc'd of his miſtake. For no ſooner had the Prince of *Orange* ſet Foot upon the *Engliſh* ſhoar, but he found the whole Nation ready to receive him, and every thing was thus diſpos'd, that after the departure of the King of *England*, the *Engliſh* Nation ſhew'd more forwardneſs in advancing him to the Throne, than he did, in all outward appearances, in accepting of it. For at the firſt meeting of the States of the Kingdom, the Throne of *England* being declar'd vacant, the Prince of *Orange* was Proclaim'd, Crown'd, and acknowledg'd as Lawful King of *England*, not only by the *Engliſh* Nation, and all the Proteſtant Princes, but alſo by the Emperor, *Spain*, by the Electors of *Germany*, an all the other Catholick Princes in general, that were enter'd into the Confederacy.

K. Will. III. *ackowledg'd King of* England.

It having been always look'd upon as a thing paſt all diſpute among the Confederates, that the power of *England*, if joyn'd with the Confederacy, would over-balance, or at leaſt equalize that of *France*; they now believ'd themſelves to be arriv'd at the higheſt pitch of their proſperity; for which reaſon they boaſted in all places, that *France* would ſcarce be able to hold out two or three Campaigns, after the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) ſhould have joyn'd the Forces of three Kingdoms with the Confederate Armies. There were ſome who were fooliſh enough to imagine, and to repreſent the King-

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dom of *France* as reduc'd to the very brink of destruction, block'd up both by Sea and Land, scarce able to withstand five or six Armies that were to attack it on all sides at a time; but these unexperienc'd Politicians were soon after convinc'd that they had triumph'd before the Victory was obtain'd. These vast preparations made by the Allies against *France*, rather serv'd to augment than diminish the Glory of our King, who in nine Years time gain'd several Battels, and took many of their best Towns, some of which they have been forc'd to re-gain with incredible charges, and great loss of their best Men.

However, the Revolution in *England* was so considerable an addition to the reputation and strength of the whole Confederacy, that the same appear'd terrible in the Eyes of all the World, except to our King, who was so far from being terrify'd by this unhappy conjuncture, that by his indefatigable care and activity, he surmounted all these difficulties, which afterwards serv'd only as an Augmentation of his Glory. He receiv'd the King of *England* with all the imaginable testimonies of generosity, and demonstrations of honour and respect, alloting both to the King, and the Queen his Spouse, a sufficient allowance to keep a most magnificent Court, and shewing a great readiness upon all occasions, to satisfie them in any thing they could desire, and to find out means to afford 'em seasonable comfort in their affliction. *Campain in* 1689.

A great part of the Kingdom of *Ireland* remaining as yet stedfast in the Interest of their King, our King without any delay, sent thither French *Forces sent into* Ireland.

ther a good number of Troops in the Year 1689, with a ſufficient quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and other neceſſaries. The King of *England* having put himſelf at the head of theſe Troops, in conjunction with the *Iriſh* Forces that had taken up Arms for him, he advanc'd againſt the Enemy with indifferent ſucceſs, there happening nothing of moment all that Campaign, as there was no great action in other parts, the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) judging it more for his advantage at that time, to eſtabliſh himſelf in *England* by his Preſence, and our King having taken a reſolution to be upon the defenſive this Campaign, the better to enable himſelf to ſend more powerful Supplies into *Ireland*, and to try whether perhaps by ſome means or other, the Confederacy would not diſſolve it ſelf againſt the next Campaign. It is eaſie to be imagin'd, that among Princes of ſo many different Inclinations and Intereſts, the War is generally not carry'd on with the ſame Vigour as it is undertaken, there being frequent Examples that the ſtricteſt Alliances have been broken with as much eaſe as they were made.

For, near the *Alps* there ſcarce appear'd any Armies in the Field. The Duke of *Noailles* took *Campredon* in *Catalonia*, which was demoliſh'd quickly after. The Armies in *Flanders* did nothing but look upon one another, there having been ſcarce any Action there abouts all that Summer, but the Aſſault made upon *Wall-Court*.

This being a place of ſmall defence, the Marſhal *d'Humiers* thought to have carri'd it by

by Storm, without making a Breach; but the Enemies who were retir'd before the Marſhal, having poſted themſelves upon ſome eminencies behind the Town, ſo as to keep a communication with one of the Gates, they ſent from time to time as many freſh Forces as were requiſite to defend the Place; ſo that the Marſhal was repuls'd with the loſs of five hundred Men killed and wounded, among whom were thirty or forty Officers, and many brave Volunteers, who paid with their lives for the miſtake of the Marſhal, who had been miſguided by his Spies.

The Allies Forces near the *Rhine* conſiſted of threeſcore and ten thouſand Men, divided into three ſeveral Bodies, under the Command of Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, and the Electors of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*. To prevent the Enemies taking up Winter-Quarters too near our Frontiers, we were oblig'd to ravage all the Country of *Wirtemberg*, and the whole *Palatinate*, and to lay all deſolate as far as *Strasburgh*. The Cities of *Spires* and *Worms* were laid in aſhes, and all the other Places thereabouts, of which we had taken poſſeſſion the Year before, were demoliſh'd, except *Mayence*, *Bonn*, *Philipsburgh*, and *Keyſerwaerth*; the laſt of which being a ſmall Town of little ſtrength upon the *Rhine*, was by *Frederic* II. Elector of *Brandenburgh*, (Son to the Famous *Frederic William*, who died in *May* in the Year 1688) taken in four or five Days.

The City of *Mayence* was Beſieg'd by the Imperialiſts, under the Command of Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Siege of* Mayence.

Saxony, who joyn'd their Forces with the others. This Place was the Year before, when the Elector of the same name receiv'd a *French* Garrison into the Town, so inconsiderable in its Fortifications, that tho' a great number of Workmen were employ'd all the Winter long to put them in a state of defence, they could scarce bring the Out-works to perfection. Its chiefest strength at that time consisted in a good Garrison of nine or ten thousand Men, all resolute brave fellows, who unanimously resolv'd to hold it out to the last extremity. If it was Attack'd with all imaginable Vigour, there has not been a Place in the memory of Men defended with more bravery, In forty eight days after opening of the Trenches, the Besiegers had only made one Lodgment upon the utmost point of the Counterscarp. The Besieg'd made frequent Sallies at Noon-day, with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, sometimes three or four times in one Day, within two hours of one another. They marched out sometimes with a Body of two or three thousand Men in order of Battel, engag'd the Enemy, cut in pieces those that guarded the Trenches, nail'd up their Cannons, fill'd up their Works, and once drove the Enemies back at such a distance from the Place, that their main Horse-guard took Post at the very Head of their Trenches. The Confederates having often felt the effects of the desperate resolution of the Besieg'd, resolv'd to Attack and carry the Counterscarp, let it cost what it would. Pursuant to this resolution, all their Batteries play'd most furiously by break of Day, and thus continu'd, till

till by the throwing of certain Bombs, the Signal was given for the Aſſault. In a few moments you might have ſeen the Ground cover'd with dead Carcaſſes, the Cannon of the Beſieg'd, their Hand-Grenadoes and Bombs, their Fire-Arms, but eſpecially their Swords made ſuch havock among the Enemy, as is rather to be conceiv'd than to be expreſs'd. The Aſſault laſted five Hours, when the Beſieg'd being at laſt over-power'd by the great number of their Enemies, who without intermiſſion, ſeconded their Men with freſh Troops, were forc'd to give way, and to leave them Maſters of the Counterſcarp, but with the loſs of four thouſand Men on the Confederate ſide. The Beſieg'd having, beſides this, loſt, during the Aſſault, all their Ammunition, by a Bomb which blew up their Magazin, they offer'd to try the next Day to regain the Counterſcarp with their Swords in Hand, but the Marquis *d'Uxelles*, their Governor, being unwilling to Sacrifice ſo many brave Fellows in the attempt, beat a Parley, and the Allies being not backward in granting him very Honourable Conditions, the Garriſon march'd out of the Place with their Colours flying, and ſix pieces of Cannon.

Whilſt they were buſied in the Siege of *Mayence*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who commanded a ſeparate Body, Inveſted *Bonn*. The Place was batter'd for two Months together, with an Artillery of an hundred pieces of Cannon, and moſt of their Houſes, and ſome of their Out-Works were laid level with the Ground by the Bombs; notwithſtanding *Siege of* Bonn.

ſtanding which the Beſieg'd defended themſelves with a great deal of reſolution, endeavouring to out-vye the Garriſon of *Mayence* in the defence of this Place; they were very ſucceſsful in their Sallies, in one of which they miſs'd but narrowly of the Elector himſelf, who being left by his Guards, was in great danger of having been carried Priſoner into the Town. After the taking of *Mayence*, the Prince of *Lorrain* march'd with a conſiderable reinforcement to Beſiege the Place in due form, but could not make himſelf Maſter of it till a Month after, the brave Governour *Bidal*, Baron of *Asfelt* refuſing to hearken to a Capitulation, till all the Out-works were taken, and that he had neither Proviſion nor Ammunition left, nay not ſo much as room enough to make new Entrenchments behind the ruin'd Baſtions.

Theſe two Sieges coſt the Enemies near twenty thouſand Men, and the remainders of their Army were ſo haraſs'd, by theſe continual Fatigues, that they were forc'd to ſeek for Winter-quarters in *October* following, in their own Territories.

Campaign of 1690.

The bravery the *French* had ſhewn in the vigorous defence of theſe places made ſuch a noiſe in the World, that moſt People began to alter their opinion concerning the ſucceſs of the Confederacy, who had been forc'd to buy their Conqueſts at ſo exceſſive a rate. But all the World ſtood amaz'd when they ſaw the King's Arms Crown'd with Victories on all ſides in the next following Campaign.

The

The Confederate Army in *Flanders* consisted at that time of forty thousand Men, under the Command of the Count of *Waldeck*, an old General, and in great esteem among them. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* General of the King's Army at the same time in *Flanders*, Commanded a Body not inferiour in number to the Confederates, and being come within sight of them, prepar'd to Attack them, according to the King's Orders, at Noon-day, being the first of *July*. The Enemy having posted themselves as advantageously as the time and ground would give them leave, with their Infantry in the Center, cover'd on both sides by their Horse; they fir'd prodigiously on us for a whole Hour, their Cannon charg'd with Cartruches, making most terrible havock among our Troops as they were advancing against them; but this was their main effort; For their right Wing being broken at the first Onset, the left did not hold out long; the Cavalry soon gave way, but their Infantry charg'd three times with a great deal of Bravery, till they were put to the rout in the fourth, when what escap'd the Sword, retir'd and shelter'd themselves in the adjacent Woods. The loss of the Enemy amounted to six thousand kill'd upon the spot, and five thousand wounded, and near eight thousand that were made Prisoners of War, among whom were nine hundred Officers. We took from them forty nine pieces of Cannon, fourscore and twelve Standards, eight pair of Kettle Drums, and an hundred and fifty Waggons loaden with Ammunition. We had on our side three thousand killed or wounded, among

Victory of Fleurus.

among whom were many Persons of note, who were much lamented. After the loss of this Battle, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* came with a strong reinforcement to joyn the broken remainders of this Army, but they did nothing further this Campaign than to pillage *Flanders*, which after this Battle became a prey both to Friends and Foes. Scarce ten Days were expir'd after this Victory, when the King's Arms were bless'd with another at Sea, over the Confederate Fleet of the *English* and *Dutch*. In the Reign of *Henry* IV. there was not one Galley or Man of War in all the Ports of *France*. King *Lewis* XIII. was the first who began to settle our Maritime affairs, which yet he left but in a very indifferent condition. The present King, immediately after his accession to the Crown, spar'd no costs to draw into *France* from the Neighbouring Countries, as many able Seamen and good Officers as he could; notwithstanding which, his Naval strength was for a considerable time much inferiour to the *English* or *Dutch*, till in the Year 1681, he gave such effectual Encouragement to the Seamen, that in the same Year threescore thousand of them were Regiſtred, of whom twenty thousand are in their turns employ'd in the King's Service, and the other forty thousand in Merchant-Men. His next care was to encourage the building Men of War, to keep his Ports in such a condition, as to be able to contain a good number of stout Ships, and to erect Magazins in convenient places with all sorts of Naval Stores, in all which he succeeded so well, that without reckoning thirty Galleys, which

Victory at Sea.

which he always maintain'd in the *Mediterranean*, he had a Fleet of an hundred Men of War for the line of Battle, in the Year 1690, in the Ocean, ſo well equip'd and provided with every thing, that there were ſome, who affirm'd, that one of ours was equivalent to three of the Enemies.

The King had no ſooner receiv'd intelligence that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets were joyn'd in the Channel, but he immediately diſpatch'd his Orders to the Count of *Tourville* Vice-Admiral in the *Levant* to fight them. The Count *de Tourville* is a younger brother of a Family in *Normandy*, a Man of Fortune, but who in lieu of an Eſtate, had all the Qualities belonging to a great Commander, ſo that even in his younger days, he gave all the imaginable hopes of becoming one Day one of the beſt Sea Commanders this Age has produc'd ſince the Death of *de Ruiter* and *Duqueſne*, and his gallant Actions have been moſt evident demonſtrations to the World, that if he did not ſurpaſs them, he alone did not fall ſhort of them both. *The Count de Tourville.*

The Enemies Fleet conſiſted of thirty Fireſhips, as many Frigats, and fourſcore Men of War. The *French* Fleet was not above threeſcore and fifteen Men of War for the Line of Battle, beſides twenty Fireſhips, ſix Frigats, and twenty other Ships loaden with Proviſions and other neceſſaries. The Enemies had the Wind of us for ſeven days together, but ſhew'd no inclination to come to an Engagement, but not being able to avoid it at laſt, they made towards us, being favour'd by the Tide. They were receiv'd by the *French* with an unparallell'd *Engagement at Sea with the Engliſh and Dutch.*

parallell'd bravery, the Count *de Tourville*, and all the reſt of the Sea-Commanders ſhewing upon this occaſion, their utmoſt skill in the management of a Sea-Engagement, which laſted ſeven hours, and did not ceaſe till the Enemies bore away towards their own Coaſt. The loſs on our ſide was very inconſiderable, one of their Bombs carried away the Stern of one of the King's Ships, the reſt receiv'd very little damage, there being not one among them that had loſt her Maſts. The Enemies had at leaſt four thouſand Men kill'd in this Action. The *Engliſh* bearing away in good time, came off without much loſs, on their ſide, but the *Hollanders* fighting like Lions, we took one of their Ships of ſixty Guns; another was ſunk, and a third burnt; beſides, there were twelve more of their beſt Ships ſo much diſabled, in their Maſts and Riggings, that not being able to carry them off, they were forc'd to ſink and to burn them. The Count *de Tourville* purſu'd them for two days after, and would in all probability have deſtroy'd their whole Fleet, if the Wind had not turn'd againſt him, which gave the Enemy opportunity to bring the reſt of their Ships into a place of ſecurity.

This diſgrace put the Enemies into no ſmall conſternation, foraſmuch as they had flatter'd themſelves that they were much ſuperiour to us at Sea, and that no body hitherto had been bold enough to diſpute with them the Sovereignty of the Sea. The Prince of *Orange* (King *Willian* III.) laying the cauſe of this diſaſter to the miſmanagement of the *Engliſh* Admiral, he was tryed and acquitted of what

Was

was laid to his charge. But, whilſt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* made heavy complaints on both ſides, laying the loſs of the Battle at one anothers Doors, the *French* obtain'd another ſignal Victory about five Weeks after, being the eighteenth Day of *Auguſt*.

Defeat of the Duke of Savoy.

For the *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries, with a good Body of *Imperial* Troops having joyn'd the Duke of *Savoy*, he took the Field, and after ſeveral marches and counter-marches, encamped boldly within ſight of the *French* Army, being cover'd on the Right by a large Wood, on the Left by boggy Grounds, and having in the Front a ſmall Rivulet. Both the Armies were near equal in number, that of the Allies being Commanded, under the Duke of *Savoy*, by ſome of their beſt Officers. The Sieur *de Catinat*, Commander in Chief of the *French* in thoſe parts, appear'd the firſt time in this Campaign at the Head of a great Army; He was deſcended from a Family that ow'd its Off-ſpring to the Gown, but by his many Services render'd himſelf not inferiour to any of our age, that have rais'd their Families by the Sword. This wiſe General having taken a view of, and found a paſſage thro' the Boggs, attack'd the Enemy on that ſide with incredible bravery, that their left Wing was brought immediately into confuſion; the right Wing held it out for ſome time after, but being likewiſe broken at laſt, a great ſlaughter enſued, moſt of their Infantry being cut to pieces, and their Cavalry ſav'd themſelves by repaſſing the River *Po*, leaving the Field, and their whole Artillery, (except one piece of Cannon, which was thrown into the River) with

with all their Ammunition and many Colours and Standards to the mercy of the Enemy. Four thousand of them were kill'd upon the spot; whereas on our side we had not above an hundred and fifty dead, and four hundred wounded Men. The Conquest of *Savoy*, which with some part of *Piedmont* submitted immediately after to our King, was the first Fruit of this Victory. For *Saluzzas* open'd its Gates the very next Day after the Battle; The Town and Castle of *Suza* surrender'd soon after, so that we remained Masters of the Field, and all the flat Country, till the time of withdrawing our Forces for the conveniency of our Winter-Quarters. As we had been successful even beyond hopes near the *Alps*, so there pass'd nothing of moment near the *Rhine*, the *Germans* being very careful in avoiding an Engagement. For, no sooner had they receiv'd intelligence, that the *Dauphin* had passed the *Rhine*, but they intrench'd themselves so strongly on the other side the River *Neckar*, that it was impossible to force them in their Post, or to bring them to an Engagement. Thus this Campaign would have prov'd as successful as any since the beginning of the War, if the *French* Troops in *Ireland* under the Command of the King of *England*, had met with the same success on that side.

Battle fought in Ireland *near the* Boyne *in* July.

For after the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) had taken a resolution to pass over into that Island in Person, to reduce it to his Obedience, he gave Battle to the *Irish* within twenty Days after his arrival, near the River *Boyne*. Seven thousand *French*, seconded by

by the *Iriſh* Horſe, who behav'd themſelves very well, ſuſtain'd for ſome time the whole power of the Enemy; but the *Iriſh* Foot being immediately brought into confuſion, the reſt were entirely routed. The loſs of this battle put the whole Kingdom into ſuch a conſternation, that the King of *England* not thinking himſelf ſecure there, immediately repaſs'd the Seas, and arriv'd ſafely at *Breſt*. The Marſhal and Duke of *Schomberg*, who had acquir'd immortal Glory whilſt he was in our King's Service, was kill'd in the Engagement. His obſtinate perſeverance in the *Calviniſm* had oblig'd him to quit *France*, and to engage himſelf in the Service of the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) who alſo receiv'd a ſlight hurt. About five Weeks after the Battle he beſieg'd *Limerick*. The Garriſon of the Town conſiſted of near ſix thouſand *French*, under the Command of Monſieur *de Boiſleleau*, Captain of our King's Guards, who had, after the laſt Engagement, thrown themſelves into the Place. The Siege was carried on with the utmoſt Vigour, but by the bravery of the Garriſon, and the help of freſh Supplies brought into the Place, together with the ſcarcity of Forage, continual Rains, and ſickneſs that had infected the Camp, the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) was oblig'd to raiſe the Siege.

Campaign in 1691.

After his return into *England* he appli'd all his care to make the neceſſary preparations for ſending a conſiderable Body of his Troops into *Flanders*, and to appear at the Head of them in Perſon, for fear leaſt ſome of the

Allies might in his absence enter upon a separate Treaty with *France*. He was met at the *Hague* by the Electors of *Bavaria*, and *Brandenburgh*, by the Landtgraves of *Hesse*, three Dukes of the House of *Brunswick*, besides thirty other Princes; by the Governor of the *Spanish* Netherlands, the Emperor's Envoy, those of *Spain*, and several other Electors, and of the Duke of *Savoy*, and all the General Officers, who were at this Council of War, to concert measures concerning the operations of the next Campaign.

Congress at the Hague.

But whilst they spent their time in debates, they receiv'd the unexpected News that the City of *Mons* had been invested by the *French* on the fifteenth of *March*, and that the King was expected in the Camp by the twentieth or one and twentieth of the same Month. This sudden News, like a Thunderclap, dispers'd the whole Congress. Most of the Princes there present return'd straightways into their respective Countries, either because they did not think it convenient to be Spectators of the taking of the Place, or to hasten their Troops to march to the relief of it.

The City of *Mons* is situate upon a rising ground, surrounded with Boggs, and consequently strong, both by Art and Nature. It is a very large Town provided with good Out-Works, having three several Ditches, which are always full of Water, by means of some Sluyces built for that purpose. There was within the Place a very good Artillery, the Inhabitants were train'd up in all sorts of Military Exercises, and the Garrison consisted

Conſiſted of five or ſix thouſand Men, all well diſciplin'd Troops. But the time of the Winter-Quarters being not expir'd, moſt of the Officers were abſent from their Commands, and the Lines of circumvallation were ſo well guarded, that notwithſtanding all their endeavours, not one of them got into the place. The Lines being brought to perfection, the Cannon began to play from the Batteries with incredible fury, one battery ſeconding the other without intermiſſion, and with ſo much diſpatch, that by the confeſſion of the moſt expert Engineers, never any Artillery did greater execution. Four and twenty Mortars, and ſixty pieces of great Cannon were continually employ'd againſt the Place; there was above a million of Powder laid up in the Camp for the ſupply of them; ſo that whereever you turn'd your Eyes you ſaw nothing but Bombs and hot Bullets flying in the Air, which ſet the whole City on Fire, ſo that you might behold the Flames riſe beyond the tops of the higheſt Steeples. The King was Day and Night in motion, there paſſed not a Day but that he viſited the Trenches once or twice, encouraging by his preſence every one in his ſtation to do his Duty, with ſuch ſucceſs, that both the Officers and Soldiers ſhewed ſo much eagerneſs in out-braving one another, that the King, to moderate their heat, ſaw himſelf oblig'd to forbid them not to work uncover'd, and to carry their Faſcins (as they did frequently) at Noon day, in ſpite of the continual fire of the Garriſon, to the Trenches; for they ſeem'd to have put their chief hopes in their Artillery, they ha-

Siege of Mons.

ving not made one Salley during the whole Siege. The only place which was defended with much gallantry was a Horn-Work, which the *French*, making their way thro' the Granadoes and Carcasses of the Enemy, which fell as thick as Hail among them, carried with Sword in Hand. The Citizens of *Mons* were all along in hopes that the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) would come to their relief; and in effect he march'd with an Army of forty thousand Men as far as *Hall*, within six Leagues of *Mons*, but finding himself not strong enough to Attack our King, he remain'd in that post till after the Surrender of the Place, which finding it self not in a condition to sustain a General Assault, came to a Capitulation, after a Siege of sixteen Days.

After the taking of *Mons*, the Troops on both sides return'd to their Winter-Quarters, and the following Campaign was spent in marches and counter marches, without any remarkable Action. The Confederates had boasted ever since the beginning of this Summer, that they would Besiege some Place or other in *Flanders*; they Attack'd *Beaumont*, a small Place without defence, the Garrison consisting only of one hundred and fifty Men. This done, the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) leaving the Army in *Flanders* to the Conduct of his General Officers, went to the *Hague*, in order to his return into *England*; but at the same time that he imagin'd the Campaign to be over, he receiv'd the unwelcome News of the defeat of his Cavalry.

The

The Marſhal of *Luxemburgh* had ſo narrowly obſerv'd the motions of the Confederate Army for ſome time, that on the eighteenth of *September* he found an opportunity to fall in their Rear. He advanc'd with eighteen Squadrons, at the head of whom were the Troops of the King's Houſhold towards the Enemy, who with threeſcore and fifteen Squadrons, poſted in three Lines, covered with a deep Ditch, and a Rivulet on each ſide, received us very briskly: But the Troops of the King's Houſhold advancing without fireing, receiv'd the Enemies firſt diſcharge at twelve paces diſtant, when breaking in upon them only with Swords in Hand, they attacked them ſo furiouſly, that the firſt Squadrons were immediately brought into confuſion, after they had returned four ſeveral times to the Charge. The Enemies loſs amounted to fifteen hundred, beſides which we took three hundred Priſoners, and forty Standards. Their whole Cavalry was engaged in this Action, except five or ſix Squadrons, which being poſted too near their Infantry, we durſt not attack them. This brave Action was perform'd only with the loſs of four hundred Men killed and wounded on our ſide. *Engagement near* Leuze.

In all other places the King's Arms were Crown'd with the ſame ſucceſs. The Duke of *Noailles* had Conquer'd the whole County of *Sardagne*. The Marſhal *de Lorges* had ravag'd the *German* Territories, and had by continual marches ſo baraſſed the Confederate

Army on that side, commanded by the Duke of *Saxony*, that without striking one stroke they were ruined for want of Forage and Provisions.

The Marshal *de Catinat* (I call him so at present, tho' he was not invested with that Dignity till two Years after) had since the Month of *March* taken *Villa Franca* in less than fifteen Hours; the Town and Castle of *Nice* in five Days after opening of the Trenches. *Villa Franca* is a very good Port, and the only one in *Piedmont*. The Castle of *Nice* is one of the strongest in *Europe*, built upon a Rock surrounded on all sides with precipices. But both their Magazins being blown up with Bombs, and five hundred of their Men kill'd, the Governor was forc'd to Capitulate. After the taking of *Nice*, *Carmagnole* and *Veillane* surrender'd at the first Summons. *Coni* was likewise besieg'd to open our way to *Turin*; but he that commanded in Chief being terrified, raised the Siege with much precipitation, before he could be reinforc'd with necessary Supplies. But the Duke of *Savoy* had no better success before *Suza*; for tho' he receiv'd a considerable reinforcement of *Brandenburghers*, yet he was forc'd to quit the Enterprise at the approach of our Army.

The Marshal *de Catinat* to put a glorious end to this Fortunate Campaign, and to make himself Master of the Chief and only remaining Key both of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, besieged *Montmelian* about the middle of *November*. This so famous Fortress defended it self very courageously; but the *French*, in spite

ſpite of the bravery of their Enemies, and the rigour and inconveniencies of a far advanced Seaſon, forc'd the Garriſon to a ſurrender, after a Months Siege. All theſe moſt glorious Conqueſts were look'd upon as inconſiderable, in reſpect of the hopes we had conceiv'd of the reſtauration of the King of *England*. But we found our ſelves fruſtrated in our expectation. The hour of this Prince, was, as it ſeems, not yet come, and all the efforts made on our ſide in order to aſſiſt him in his deſign, ſerv'd for nothing elſe but to give us new proofs of the averſion of his People towards him, and that his ill Stars were as powerful as ever to render him unfortunate. He had lately loſt the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which was Conquer'd by one of the Prince of *Orange*'s (King *William* III.) Generals, who had taken *Limerick*, and oblig'd the *French* Forces to return into *France*. In recompenſe of this loſs he was buoyed up the next following Spring, of being ſuddenly reſtor'd to his Throne. There were many of his Adherents and Creatures left in *England*, beſides a good many of his old Servants who being employ'd in bringing over the Officers of the *Engliſh* Army and Fleet to their ſide, perſwaded themſelves to have managed matters with ſo much dexterity, that it was impoſſible to fail in the Enterpriſe. Full of theſe hopes, this Prince craved aſſiſtance from our King, who granted him a good Fleet, and a ſufficient number of Land-Forces to be tranſported into *England*. Then he marched with his Troops into *Normandy*, expecting the ſucceſs of our Fleet, which under the Com-

Campaign in 1692.

mand of the Count *de Tourville*, Vice-Admiral of *France*, was gone to Sea in quest of the Enemy.

But we found our selves soon mistaken in our fond expectations, for the *English* were so far from running before us, or to declare for the King of *England*, (as we had been perswaded they would) that they gave *Tourville* a very warm reception. The *French* Fleet was much inferiour in number to the Enemies, consisting only of forty four Men of War for the Line of Battle, whereas the Confederate Fleet was fourscore and ten strong. Notwithstanding this great inequality, the *French* Attack'd them so briskly, that for three hours together they had the advantage over the Enemies, who were extreamly damnified in their Masts and Rigging, lost one of their Ships, which was sunk, and most of their Fireships, whereas we lost not one Ship during the whole Engagement. Both Fleets being separated by a thick Fog and the Night, *Tourville* fearing, not without reason, that considering the inequality of their Forces, he should not be in a condition to cope with the Confederate Fleet a second time, thought it most advisable to take this opportunity of making the best of his way towards the *French* Coast. But his Fleet being separated by the darkness of the Night, one and twenty of his biggest Ships gain'd the Port of St. *Malo*, where they were sufficiently secur'd against any attempt of the Enemy: But fifteen others not being able to steer the same course, by reason of the contrary Winds, were

Loss of fifteen Fr. Men of War in May.

were ſo cloſely purſued, that being in danger of being taken, they run a-ſhoar, and after having taken out all their Cannon, and moſt of their Rigging, the *French* ſet fire to them, rather than to leave them a prey to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. Nothing is more common in the World than to lay the ill ſucceſs of an Enterpriſe at the Door of him who has had the ſupream Direction and Management of it, moſt People looking upon a diſaſter of this nature to proceed chiefly from the ill Conduct of the General; whereas they attribute the happy ſucceſs of a Battle merely to Fortune. But it muſt be confeſs'd, that *Tourville* had the ſatisfaction to hear his Enemies give him this Character; *That he had acquitted himſelf upon this Occaſion as a great Commander.*

Siege of Namur *by the* French.

But the taking of *Namur* did ſurpriſe the Confederacy and all *Europe* in ſuch a manner, that our ſucceſs in *Flanders* ſoon effaced the remembrance of the diſgrace received at Sea.

Namur is ſituated at the confluence of two Rivers; the City lies in a Plain; the Caſtle is built upon a Rock, both are very regularly fortified; this being one of the moſt conſiderable places in all *Flanders* for its Situation, and of ſuch conſequence, that in the laſt Age, this being the only Place in the *Netherlands* remaining in the *Spaniards* Hands, they by the help of it, recover'd all the reſt of the Low-Countries, which have been in their poſſeſſion ſince. The ſeveral Works belonging to the Caſtle were like ſo many Citadels, each of them

them being provided with its Out-Works, Ditch, a particular Garriſon and Commander. In the Fort *William* alone was a Garriſon of two thouſand Men, and a train of Artillery, ſufficient to defend a great City. Theſe Forts being built upon an aſſent which reaches up to the body of the Caſtle command one another. And defend the avenues leading to it. At the time when it was beſieged by the King, the Place was provided with a Garriſon of eight or nine thouſand Men, with great ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion of all ſorts, under the braveſt and moſt expert Officers among the Confederates. The Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) was at that time in *Flanders*, and the Confederates were ſo numerous on that ſide that they could bring together an Army of an hundred thouſand Men. But all theſe obſtacles were not capable of altering the King's reſolution, who, after every thing was in a readineſs for the carrying on of ſo great an Enterpriſe, ordered two ſeparate Armies to take the Field in *Flanders*; the leſs numerous of the two was employed in the Siege, the other to cover it againſt any attempt of the Enemy. Theſe two Armies conſumed every Day two hundred and fifty thouſand Rations of Bread, and thirty thouſand *French* buſhels of Oats, allowing half a buſhel for each Horſe a Day. And the King had taken ſuch ſure meaſures as to all the neceſſary Snpplies, that as long as the Siege laſted, there was always in both Camps no leſs than for fifteen Days Proviſion. Twenty thouſand Pioneers were employed in making

making the Lines of circumvallation and contravallation, and the Trenches were opened in three Days after. The City made at first a vigorous Defence, but capitulated on the eighth Day, finding it self not in a condition to sustain a general Assault. The surrender of the City made the Enemy fear, that the Castle, tho' accounted impregnable, might follow the example of the City; for which reason the Prince of *Orange*, (King *William* III.) Count *Waldeck* General of the *Dutch* Forces, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had lately been made Governour of the remaining part of the *Spanish Netherlands*, advanced and posted themselves near the Banks of the River *Mebeigne*. These three Bodies made together an Army of near an hundred thousand Men, which was continually in motion to intercept our Convoys, or to endeavour to force our Quarters, if they should find an opportunity. The Marshal *de Luxemburgh*, not inferiour in number to the Confederates, being encamped on rising Ground on the other side the *Mebeigne*, at about half a Leagues distance from the River, expected them in good order, there being a large Plain betwixt them and the Enemy. But the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) had either no inclination to hazard a Battle, or else could not meet with a favourable opportunity to put his design in execution; for he caused five or six several times Bridges to be laid over the River, but they were immediately broken down again. Thus these two great Armies encamped within sight of one another for a whole Month, exactly observing

obſerving and following one another's motions, frequently ſaluting one another with their Cannon, without coming to handy-blows. In the mean while the Siege was carried on with all imaginable vigour, the King not only giving his Directions upon all occaſions of moment, but alſo ſeeing them put in execution. Being ſeiz'd with the Gout when they were juſt ready to attack a covert way, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a Chair to a certain Place, from whence he could ſee all what paſſed, and give the neceſſary Orders, as occaſion ſhould require.

Here it was that *Lewis Alexander* Count of *Tholouſe* was wounded by his ſide. It was obſervable that there did not appear the leaſt change in this young Prince's Countenance at this miſhap, a happy preſage of thoſe many courageous Actions, he has ſince that time given ſuch eminent proofs of in the following Campaigns. The King's Forces being animated by his Preſence, and Example, never behaved themſelves ſo well in any Siege whatever, giving every Day innumerable demonſtrations of their Courage and Patience, for the beſieged fired without intermiſſion. The weather was extreamly bad during the whole Siege, the Soldiers being continually fatigu'd by the Rains and Tempeſts; beſides which, they met with ſo many Rocks in the carrying on of the Trenches, that they could advance but ſlowly, and with a great deal of difficulty, they being forc'd to carry them round about ſeveral great Hills, and large Valleys, which took up a vaſt compaſs. But all theſe obſtacles

obſtacles ſerved only to augment the Patience and Courage of our Soldiers. It was next to a prodigy to ſee ſome of them crawl up boldly to the Breaches, and to endeavour to keep their Poſt only with their Swords in Hand, againſt a vaſt number of Enemies, who powered whole ſhowers of ſmall-ſhot at them, whilſt they return'd them as many Hand-Granadoes as they were able to throw. The firſt and the braveſt Action that happened in the whole Siege was near a certain Eminency, where the Enemy having ſtrongly Entrenched themſelves, we were forc'd to drive them from that Poſt before we could open our Trenches before the Caſtle. The King's Troops attack'd them with Sword in Hand, and Bayonetts in their Fuſees: They fired very briskly from their Entrenchments, which our Troops having ſuſtained with great bravery, the Enemy at their approach quitted the Poſt, after they had loſt two or three hundred Men. Within ſix Days after we forc'd their retrenchments and redoubts of the Hermitage. The Fort *William* defended it ſelf ten Days: On the tenth we carried the Covert-way, not without great ſlaughter on both ſides, when the *Dutch* Garriſon came immediately to a Capitulation. This done there was remaining as yet the Caſtle with all its Out-works. This was the moſt difficult task, but by the King's preſence the Works were carried on ſo vigorouſly, that in five Days time we made an Aſſault upon the Counterſcarp. The Beſieged defended themſelves with all the courage imaginable, but were at laſt forced to give

give way to the numbers of the Beſiegers, who were from time to time ſeconded with freſh Troops; ſoon after all their Cannon being diſmounted, one of their chief Magazins blown up by two of our Bombs, and another being fallen into the great Ciſtern which furniſhed the Caſtle with Water, and our Mines ready to ſpring under one of the Baſtions of the Horn-work, what with hunger and thirſt, what with fear of not being able to ſuſtain a General Aſſault, for want of Sleep, occaſioned by the continual throwing in of Bombs, they were neceſſitated to hearken to a Capitulation, notwithſtanding that the body of the Caſtle was entire, and that they had as yet a Horn-work left which would have coſt us no ſmall trouble to take. Out of eight or nine thouſand Men, of which the Garriſon of *Namur* conſiſted at the beginning of the Siege, there were but twelve hundred left in the Fort *William*, and two thouſand five hundred in the Caſtle, when they marched out. The reſt periſhed either by ſickneſs, or were killed by our Bombs, or in the ſeveral Attacks and Sallies.

The taking of *Namur* in the ſight of an Army of an hundred thouſand Men, put all the *Spaniſh Netherlands* under a moſt terrible conſternation; the common people being extreamly diſſatisfied that the relief of a place of ſuch conſequence had not as much as been attempted by the Confederate Army, affronted, nay aſſaulted the *Dutch* at *Bruſſels*, and ſeveral other places, and did not ſtick to grumble

ble at the Prince of *Orange*, (King *William* III.) who to appeaſe them, and to raiſe their drooping Courage, reſolved, within a Month after, to give us Battle.

Every thing ſeem'd to conſpire for his advantage: He was now thirty thouſand Men ſtronger in Infantry than the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who labour'd alſo under another inconveniency, that his Cannon was left behind, his Artillery not arriving till the Night before the Engagement. The Grounds on that ſide where the Enemy intended at Attack us being full of ſmall Bogs and Rivulets, with very thick Hedges and large Ditches, was only fit for the Infantry to Engage in. Here it was that the Troops of the King's Houſhold were poſted, who being cover'd by one ſingle Brigade, (the reſt of the *French* Infantry were at leaſt a League's diſtance from thence) the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) did not in the leaſt queſtion but they would ſoon be over-powered by the whole *Engliſh* Infantry, that were to begin the Attack; all the circumſtances appearing ſo favourable on his ſide, that he thought himſelf aſſured of Victory. To amuſe the Enemies Spies, he iſſued out his Orders the Night before the Engagement, that they ſhould go a Foraging the next Day, which done, he kept all the General Officers of the Army with him in his Tent till ten a Clock at Night, when having ſent them back to their reſpective Poſts, the march was begun about half an hour after, to be within ſight of the *French* Camp

Battle of Stenkerk, Aug. 3.

Camp at break of Day. There appear'd ſo much ſatisfaction and joy both in his Countenance and Words, that when they arriv'd at the appointed place, without being diſcovered by the *French*, he ſpoke out a loud to his Soldiers, that they were going to an aſſured Victory, not to fight, but to cut to pieces their Enemies; tho' many were of Opinion, that this aſſurance he gave to his Soldiers of an undoubted Victory, was rather done with an intention to enflame their Courage, than to expreſs his own ſentiments, it being unqueſtionable, that it was always conſider'd as one of the chiefeſt qualifications belonging to a General, to know how to inſpire his Soldiers with a ſeaſonable aſſurance of Victory. It is more than probable, that if at that inſtant he had led his Army towards the Enemy, his deſign would have ſucceeded; but whilſt he ſtayed for the coming up of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and Count *Waldeck*, who ſtayed above an Hour longer than was expected, the *French* had leiſure given them to put themſelves in a poſture to receive them. It is in vain to chooſe ones time, unleſs it be improved to the beſt advantage. For in the mean time the Duke of *Luxemburgh* order'd his beſt Battallions to advance with all ſpeed, who being poſted where the Enemy muſt Attack us, ſuſtained by the Troops of the King's Houſhold, and theſe again by ſeveral other Bodies of Horſe. The Paſs was ſo narrow that not being able to extend our Lines in Front, we were forced to double them.

For

For the first two hours they fir'd most terribly on both Sides, the Battallions advancing so near, that they discharged their Musquets cross one another. The Enemy fir'd more briskly than we for some time; they got Ground of us, and made themselves Masters of four of our Pieces of Cannon; but the *French* perceiving that their Musquets were not likely to do the Work, threw them down, and being led only by their Officers, but especially by the Princes, the Duke of *Chartres*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Conty*, Duke *de Maine*, and others, charged the Enemy with their Swords in hand, so furiously, that they forced them to retreat, many of whom were cut in pieces, the rest saving themselves in an adjacent Wood. They were pursued for an hour after, and the Field of Battle for a League together, was covered all over with dead Carcasses, which in some places lay six Foot high upon one another. This Victory cost us two or three Thousand of our best Men, among whom were many Persons of Merit and Quality; especially the Prince of *Turenne*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Bovillon*, who died the day after the Battle, of his Wounds. The loss of the Enemy amounted to nine Thousand kill'd upon the spot, and as many wounded. We took nine Colours, and ten pieces of Cannon, but only thirteen hundred Prisoners, the *English* refusing to ask Quarter.

The Duke of Savoy *invades* France *in* Auguſt.

It was much about the same time that the Duke of *Savoy* made an Irruption into the higher *Dauphine*, where he lost abundance of his Men without striking a stroke. The Con-

federates had for a considerable time before, formed a Project of entring *Dauphine* and *Provence*, flattering themselves with hopes, that the new Converts would revolt and join them from all Parts of *France*. To put their so long projected Design in execution, the Governour of *Milan*, and the Imperial General *Caprara*, joined with their Troops the Duke of *Savoy*; They carried along with them Arms for thirty Thousand Men, and were provided with Ministers, who in all places, through which they passed, endeavoured in their Sermons to sow the Seed of Rebellion and *Calvinism* among the People. But they found themselves entirely mistaken in their Expectation, the new *Catholicks* being so far from shewing the least Inclination for a Revolt, that they were the most forward upon all Occasions to do what Mischief they could to the Enemy, by drawing them into Ambushes, and killing without Mercy, all such as they met with straggling, or otherwise detach'd from their main Body. This was the Reason why the *Confederates* made but little Progress, and their proposed Conquest turn'd to a very slender Account. They took *Guillestre* in three days; *Ambrun* held out six, *Gap* being only provided with ten Men to keep the Gates, receiv'd them without the least Resistance. *Guillestre* is at present no more than a Country Town, without any other Defence but two old ruin'd Bastions. *Ambrun* is indeed a small City, but defended only by a single Wall; But the Besieged supplying the defect of their Fortifications by their own Courage, defended the Place so well, that the Enemies

nemies were not Masters of it, but with the Loss of above fifteen hundred Men. Thus ended this Expedition of the Duke of *Savoy*, who being faln ill, and finding his Army considerably diminished by Sickness and Fatigues, repassed the *Alpes*, carrying no other Spoils along with him, but the Bells of *Ambrun* and *Gap*.

In the same Month the Marshal *de Lorge* obtained a Victory over six thousand *German* Horse, in the Country of *Wirtembergh*, if the Pursuit of a flying Enemy, vanquish'd without effusion of Blood, may be dignified with that Name. For no sooner did the *German* Horse perceive the Vant-Guard of the King's Army, but they betook themselves to flight, nine hundred of them were kill'd in the pursuit, and six hundred taken Prisoners, among the last was the Duke of *Wirtembergh*, who commanded this Body in Chief. The City *Phortsheim* was taken the next day by our Forces, where they had laid up all their Provisions for the rest of the Compaign. The Landgrave of *Hesse* was at that time taken up with the Siege of *Eberenburgh*, a small Place, fortified by the *French*, for the conveniency of their Magazines; but as soon as he received the News of this Defeat, and the approach of the Marshal *de Lorge*, in order to relieve the place, he raised the Siege with so much precipitation, that they left behind them some of the Cannon, with all their Ammunition, and all other Necessaries belonging to a Siege.

The Germans *routed near* Phortzheim *towards the latter end of* August.

Most people were of Opinion, that these frequent Distasters would have both exhausted the Strength and Hatred of the Confederates;

Campaign of 1692.

but flattering themselves with these vain hopes, that these Conquests would at last turn to the destruction of *France*, they resolved to abate nothing of their Resolution in vigourously prosecuting the War, and remaining steadfast in the Confederacy; especially since the Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) did not cease to insinuate to them by his Ministers, that this was the only way left for their mutual Preservation, since if they were not able, when joyn'd together, to ballance the Power and Success of our King's Arms, it would be no difficult Task for him, to vanquish them singly, whenever he should take a Resolution to dispossess them of their Estates, after the breaking of the League. Both sides therefore, made all imaginable Preparations to prosecute the War with more vigour than ever; The Confederates to defend themselves against the Power of *France*, our King to attack them afresh in the next Campaign. This Campaign was opened in *Flanders* in the Month of *January*, by the taking of *Furnes*; its Garrison consisted of four thousand *English*, and the Elector of *Bavaria* made all the necessary Preparations to Relieve it, but it was surrendred in fifteen Hours, being a Place of great Consequence to us, to cover our Frontiers, and to disappoint the Confederates in their Design of Besieging *Dunkirk*.

Furnes *taken.*

The Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) had at several times promised the Allies to make a Descent in *France*, which he now being resolved to put in Execution, ordered a Fleet to be Equipp'd for that purpose, provided with a good number of Flat-bottom'd Vessels, for the

the Conveniency of Landing his Forces, which were drawn together near the Sea-ſide, oppoſite to the *French* ſhoar. The King being not ignorant of this Deſign, to encourage his Subjects, and take all neceſſary Precautions, the King ordered a good Army to ſerve as a Guard of his Sea-Coſts, under the Command of his only Brother, the Duke of *Orleance*. The precaution, as it was founded upon a ſure Maxim of Prudence, ſo it prov'd uſeleſs in its Conſequence; For, all theſe vaſt Preparations and Threats vaniſhed into Smoak, the Troops deſign'd for this pretended Expedition being ſent into *Flanders*; which was only made uſe of to oblige our King to remove part of his Forces from the Frontiers to defend his own Coaſts. But this Amuſement, which was not carried on without vaſt Expences, turn'd but to a very ſlender Account on the Enemies ſide, without reaping any other Advantage by it, than to Alarm our Sea-Coaſts, with the danger of an Invaſion, which being ſoon vaniſhed, the People took freſh Courage, and were prepared to encounter it with leſs Surprize for the future. For the King was ſo far from ſhewing the leaſt Fear upon this Occaſion, that he attack'd the Enemies with new Vigour on all ſides.

The Marſhal *de Noailles* beſieged *Roſes* in *Catalonia*, which place, tho' conſiderable for its Strength, he took in eight days after opening of the Trenches, to wit, on the 29th of *July*. Roſes *taken*.

The Marſhal *de Tourville*, was ordered towards the *Streights*, to intercept the *Smyrna* Fleet, of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, of which, Smyrna *Fleet intercepted by* Tourville.

he, on the 29th of *June*, betwixt *Cadiz* and the Bay of *Lagos*, took, burnt, and ſunk, above fourſcore Merchant men. The reſt were diſperſed, and the Squadron of Men of War, which ſerv'd for a Convoy, made the beſt of their Way towards the *Engliſh* Coaſt.

For many Years before, neither of theſe two Nations had received ſuch a Check in their Trade, their Loſs being eſteem'd at thirty Millions of Livres.

In the beginning of this Spring, our King appearing in Perſon in *Flanders*, it was the general Rumour, that he aim'd at *Liege*; but after having given his final Orders concerning the Operation of the Campaign, and detach'd near thirty thouſand Men, under the Command of the *Dauphin*, to reinforce his Army near the *Rhine*, he return'd into *France*.

Heidelbergh *taken and raſed by the* French.

The Maſhal *de Lorge* had in the Month of *May*, made himſelf Maſter of *Heidelbergh*, the Capital City of the whole *Palatinate*, before the Enemy could march to its Relief; and after having raſed the Fortifications, both of the City and Caſtle, was marched directly againſt the Prince of *Baden*, who Commanded the Confederate Army on that ſide, and at the approach of the Marſhal, retreated before him; but after the arrival of the *Dauphin*, with the beforementioned Detachment, he entrenched himſelf ſtrongly at a Paſs, which he knew impoſſible to be forced, chuſing rather to undergo the Inconveniencies of Famine and many Diſtempers, which afflicted his Troops in theſe inacceſſible Places, than to hazard a Battle, or to decamp before the *Dauphin*, for fear he ſhould force him to come to an Engagement.

The

The Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) did not entrench himſelf, but kept the open Field in *Flanders*, yet ſo as to avoid all Occaſions of Fighting. The Duke of *Luxenburgh*, who had poſitive Orders from the King, to engage him, fained to march towards *Liege*, to attack the Lines and Redoubts, which ſurround that great City. This ſucceeded according to expectation, for the Confederate Army advancing near to the Duke to be ready to ſuccour the City, the Duke marched directly towards them, and arrived in ſight of their Camp, about ſix or ſeven a Clock at Night.

The Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) was not a little ſurpriſed at the ſuddenneſs of his March; but finding himſelf under a Neceſſity to ſtand an Engagement, the next Day he improv'd thoſe few Hours he had, to his beſt Advantage, in putting his Troops in Order of Battle, raiſing Batteries in convenient Places; in fixing Palliſadoes at the Avenues leading to his Camp; he cauſed two Villages, which covered his Right and Left to be Fortified, and lin'd the Houſes and circumjacent Hedges with his beſt Infantry; and ſtrengthned his Front, which reached to, and took up all the Ground betwixt theſe two Villages: He employed a great number of Pioneers all the Night long, in making a Ditch ſix Foot broad, and three quarters of a League long, ſtrengthned without with good Palliſadoes, and defended within by a good Line, and Redoubts, upon which were mounted near a hundred pieces of Cannon. The main Body ſtood behind this Entrenchment, ſuſtained by the Cavalry, which

was posted behind them in two Lines. They were the finest Troops that could be seen. On the other hand, is it possible to imagine, that our Soldiers could be so courageous, or rather Fool-hardy enough to attempt the attacking of sixty thousand brave Men, guarded by such strong Entrenchments.

Battle of Neerwinden. 29. July.

The great Artillery began to play at break of Day, on both sides without intermission, till four a Clock in the Afternoon. That of the Enemies did great Execution among us, being placed upon an Eminency, which commanded the Plain. The oldest Officers did acknowledge never to have seen Cannon to play with so much Fury, and at so little a distance, for so long a time together, which at a distance resembled more a Sea-Engagement, than a Field-Battle. The Enemies fired more frequently than we, and their Artillery did much more Execution, so that this Victory must be meerly ascribed to the invincible Courage of our Soldiery; and it must be acknowledged, that *Philip*, Duke *de Chartres*, the Duke of *Bourbon* and *de Maine*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Count de *Thoulouse*, had a great share in the Success of this Day. There was not a Battallion in both the Army's but what was Engaged in the Battle; but the chief Attack was at a Village, call'd *Neerwinden*, which covered the Right Wing. This Village was taken and retaken twice with great Slaughter; till at last our Troops, having maintained and strengthned themselves in this Post, they entred the Plain, and attacked the Enemy both in Front and Flank, who received us very Courageously, especially

ly the *Engliſh* in the main Body, who Charged ſix times with incredible Bravery; but their Cavalry being brought into Confuſion, and drove into a River, the whole Army begun to diſperſe, and to quit the Field by whole Troops and Companies, leaving the Victorious Enemy Maſter of the Field, with threeſcore and ſixteen pieces of Cannon, eight Mortars, nine Patteroons, twelve pair of Kettle-Drums, abundance of Arms, threeſcore Standards, two and twenty Colours, and above two thouſand Priſoners, among whom were two hundred Officers. The *French* loſt above three thouſand Men killed, and four thouſand wounded. The Loſs of the Enemy amounted to near twenty thouſand Men, both in the Engagement and Flight, there being a great number drown'd in endeavouring to Ford the River, which for a conſiderable time after was rendred paſſable by the Bridges made by the dead Carcaſſes of Men and Horſes. This vaſt Army was diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that they could not get together in a Body again till ſix days after, when being reinforced with freſh Troops; and eſpecially with the Detachment commanded by the Prince of *Wirtembergh*, they appear'd again in the Field.

It is to be taken notice of here, that ſince the beginning of this War, our King had ordered certain Lines or Entrenchments to be made from *Mabeuge* to the Sea-ſide, to ſerve as a Barricado to cover his Conqueſts on that ſide. The Duke of *Wirtembergh* having been detached from the main Army with a Body three times ſtronger than the *French*, that guarded

guarded these Lines to attack them, had forced these Entrenchments, and was just then preparing to ravage the Country, when receiving the News of this Defeat he was forced to turn back in order to join with all speed the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.)

Victory of Marsaglia the 4 October.

Within two Months after, the Marshal *de Catinat* obtained another no less compleat, but less bloody Victory over the Confederate Army in *Italy*, under the Command of the Duke of *Savoy*. The said Marshal's Army had hitherto been much inferior in Number to the Allies, which was the Reason that he had not undertaken any thing of moment, but only to observe the Enemies Motions, and to harress them with Marches and Countermarches. The Duke and *Spaniards* willing to improve this Opportunity, resolved to besiege *Pignerol*; but being discouraged by the Resistance they met with in the Taking of St. *Brigitt*, which being built but a Year before, at some distance from the Town, commanded the chief Avenues leading to it, and had held out fifteen days before it was taken; they altered their Resolutions, contenting themselves with throwing a vast number of Bombs and red hot Bullets into the Place. Whilst they were flattering themselves with the hopes of either reducing or destroying the City of *Pignerol* by Fire, Messengers after Messengers came to bring the sad News to the Duke of *Savoy*, that not only the *French* had burnt one of his Country Houses, but that also the Marshal *de Catinat*, having received a Considerable Reinforcement, had made himself Master of the Plains.

Plains. The Duke immediately directing his March towards those Plains, he was met by the Marshal. The Battle began about nine a Clock in the Forenoon; the right Wing of the Enemy was brought into confusion at the first Encounter, the left follow'd not long after the Example of the right Wing, yet they Rallyed, and return'd to the Charge twice or thrice, but without any great Effect, for their Cavalry being entirely routed, the rest were cut to pieces, except those who saved themselves by flight; and to fly with the less Inconveniency, threw away their Arms, enough to Arm sixteen thousand Men. The flying Enemy were pursued to the very Gates of *Turin*, the whole Plain being covered with dead Carcasses, and in some places with entire Battallions, especially of the *Spaniards* and *Hugonots*. The Enemies lost nine thousand Men in this Engagement, besides two thousand taken Prisoners, a hundred Colours, forty five Standards, and thirty four pieces of Cannon. We had twelve or fifteen hundred killed and wounded on our side. The *Gens d'Arms* behaved themselves to a miracle; Our Infantry fought with their Bayonets in their Fuzees and Sword in hand. After the Loss of this Battle, the Duke being reinforced with the *German* Troops that block'd up *Casal*, yet durst not appear in the Field; so that the Marshal *de Catinat*, without opposition, overrun all the flat Country, and carried away a prodigious quantity of Provision.

The King received the News of this Victory, and of the Surrender of *Charleroy* in one day. This place is situate betwixt *Mons* and *Namur*,

Namur, and was beſieged in *November*, when the Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) was juſt ready to paſs over into *England*; but upon the News of this Siege return'd into *Flanders*, and advanced with an Army as far as *Bruſſels*, but did not attempt the Relief of the Place, which, tho' conſiderable for its ſtrength, was forced to ſurrender in ſix and twenty days.

Siege of Charleroy

About the end of the ſame Month, an *Engliſh* Squadron was ſent towards St. *Malo*, to attempt the deſtruction of that Place, not ſo much by their Bombs, as a certain Engine, by which they hoped to blow up that City, or to lay it in Aſhes. This Engine was a three Deck'd-Ship, of about four hundred Tuns, lined and vaulted within with Brick-Work. Betwixt each of theſe Decks, there were placed many Barrels with Gun-powder, mixt with a certain Compoſition of Tarr, Pitch, and Roſin, a great number of Bombs, Carcaſſes, and other Casks, fill'd with all ſorts of Combuſtible Matter. It was a fair and clear Night, very calm and Spring-tide, when this infernal Engine came ſwimming up with the Tide, but by good Fortune was forced upon a Rock, within Piſtol-ſhot of the Walls of the City. The Engineer, who had the management of this Veſſel, perceiving that ſhe took Water was ſo over-haſty in ſetting her on Fire, that both He and his Attendants were blown up in the ſame moment, before they had time to get out of reach. The ſpringing of this Engine made a moſt dreadful Noiſe, and ſhook all the circumjacent Ground for three or four Leagues; The whole City felt a moſt violent Confuſion, and in a moment all the Streets

Engliſh Expedition againſt St. Malo.

Streets were covered with Slates and Tyles, which, like a Shower of Hail, powred down from the tops of the Houſes. This was the whole Loſs ſuſtained by this dreadful Engine, which carried along with it, more Terror than Damage, there being not one Houſe in the whole City that receiv'd any further Damage, neither was there one ſingle Perſon kill'd or wounded. For the Powder having taken vent, and being beſides that, ſpoil'd by the Water, did not anſwer the pretended Effect in throwing the Bombs and Barrels full of Combuſtible Matter into the Air. At low Water, near ſeven hundred Bombs were taken up from the Sands, and abundance of Powder out of the Wrack of the Veſſel.

Campaign in 1694.

We could ſcarce have wiſh'd for a more proſperous Campaign on our ſide than the laſt; but as there is no human Felicity without ſome mixture of Adverſity; ſo when the State ſuffers within, all its outward Proſperity appears to be but ſuperficial. I ſay, we could not have wiſhed for a more glorious Campaign, if a general Scarcity had not almoſt ruined ſeveral Provinces in the Kingdom; but eſpecially the City of *Paris*, with the circumjacent Parts. *France* is a very fertile Country, abounding eſpecially in Wheat, ſo as to be able to furniſh its Neighbours with a conſiderable Quantity of this uſeful Commodity; which, for ſeveral years before had been ſo cheap, that the common People liv'd eaſie enough, tho' by reaſon of the long War, and the decay of Trade, there was but ſlender Gain among them. But the Harveſt in the Year 1693, both for quantity and quality of the

the Corn prov'd ſo exceſſive bad, that it was ſold for four times the Price than before. In this unhappy Conjuncture, the King ſent a great number of Ships, both to the North, and the Coaſt of *Barbary*, to ſupply our Wants; he obliged the Corn-Merchants to carry their Stores to Market, to furniſh the Country with Seed for the next following Year; he cauſed a great quantity of Bread to be deſtributed to the poorer Sort, at half the price it coſt him, and gave every Week a good Sum for the Suſtenance of the Poor of each Pariſh. To theſe Supplies and human Aids, he join'd the Prayers of the Church, and God was pleaſed ſo to bleſs his Endeavours, that his Subjects were ſoon Reliev'd, and freed from their preſent Misfortunes, the next Harveſt proving ſo plentiful, that within five Weeks time, the Price of Corn fell to ſuch a degree, that it was ſold at the ſame rate, as before the time of the Dearth.

Dearth in France.

This general Scarcity however (the conſtant fore-runner of a great Mortality) was a ſufficient Inducement to perſwade the Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) that this was the moſt ſeaſonable Juncture that could offer to Invade the Kingdom of *France*, The Confederates encouraged by the hopes of Succeſs, augmented their Forces on all ſides with freſh Troops; and the *Engliſh*, who ever ſince the beginning of this War had not been ſparing of their Money, being now more liberal than ever in granting new Supplies, he Equipp'd two Fleets to back his Deſign. But the Succeſs was in no wiſe anſwerable to theſe vaſt Pre-

Preparations. For in *Piedmont*, the Campaign paſſed without any Siege or Action of Moment. In *Germany* the Confederate Army had paſſed the *Rhine*, in order to ravage the *Lower Alſace*, but no ſooner did the Marſhal *de Lorge* march againſt them, but they re-paſs'd the ſaid River without any further Action.

The *Dauphin* Commanded at that time in *Flanders*, attended by the Flower of all the *French* Nobility, his Army was compoſed of the beſt Troops, but did not exceed fifty thouſand Men. The Confederate Army conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand Men, under the Command of the Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) and the Elector of *Bavaria*; and it was given out that they intended to Beſiege *Namur* and *Dunkirk*, but notwithſtanding the inequality of their Number, there paſſed not any thing of Moment all this Campaign.

Towards the latter end of the Month of *Auguſt*, the Confederate Army decamped from about *Liege*, directing their March towards our Lines, in hopes to force them, and to put our Conqueſts under Contribution, and to open the way for ſome Enterprize of more moment. To put the Deſign in Execution, they advanced towards the *Shelde*, in hopes to be able to lay their Bridges over that River without much oppoſition, there being not above ſeven or eight thouſand Men, (as they imagined) to guard our Lines; But their Aſtoniſhment was ſuch, as is paſs'd all Expreſſion, when they ſaw on the other ſide of the River ſeveral Batteries mounted with Cannon, and the *Dauphin*'s Army ranged in Battle-Array, ready to receive them. It was a good while

while before they could believe their own Eyes, thinking it impoſſible, that, whereas they had got two days march before the *Dauphin*, and the Road they had taken was by one half ſhorter, they ſhould be prevented by the *French* Army, which had many Defiles, and four Rivers to paſs. For, no ſooner had the *Dauphin* receiv'd Intelligence of their March, but he immediately diſpatch'd his Orders, to get every thing in readineſs upon the Road, which might conduce towards the haſty March of his Army, to prevent, if poſſible, the Enemies Deſign. His Orders were ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that in all places through which they paſſed, they found Forrage, Proviſions, and all other Refreſhments in abundance; many Bridges were laid ready over the Rivers, great Numbers of Waggons and Boats attended every where, to carry the Soldiers that were unable to follow the reſt, or to convey theſe with more Expedition, who were intended to be the firſt, that ſhould join theſe Forces that kept the Guard of the Lines. Never were any Solders ſeen to March with more Alacrity. Neither the Weight of their Arms, nor the Heat of the Seaſon, nor the Fatigues of ſo long and Expeditious a March, did abate the leaſt of their Vigour and Activity; they ſtrove on the contrary to out-vie one another in their March, aiding and encouraging thoſe who ſtaid a little behind. This general Emulation prov'd ſo ſucceſsful, that the whole Army, with their Cannon and Baggage, march'd forty large Leagues in leſs than four days time. The Confederate Army was ſo much ſurpriſed at this unexpected Sight, that they

they retired immediately without attempting any thing further, that Campaign; But before they went into Winter quarters, they ſent a ſtrong Detatchment towards *Liege*, which in conjunction with the Forces of that Biſhoprick, took the Town and Caſtle of *Huy* in ſix days, a ſmall place; and one of thoſe, that commonly fall to the ſhare of thoſe, who are Maſters of the Field. Threeſcore pieces of Cannon, and thirty Mortars were made uſe of in this Siege; an Expence ſuitable to a much greater Enterprize, but ſcarce worth the taking of a Place of ſo little Conſequence.

The Conqueſt of *Huy* ſeem'd to be but a ſlender Recompence to the Allies; for the diſappointments of this Compaign, which had paſſed without any Action of moment, and for the loſs of a Battle, and four conſiderable Places in *Catalonia*.

For the Marſhal *de Noailles*, having immediately after his arrival in thoſe Parts, received the King's Orders, to find out, and fight the Enemy, he found them entrenched to the number of ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand on the oppoſite ſhoar of the River *Ter*, which is pretty broad, but fordable in many places. The *French* Army was not inferior to that of the Enemy, conſiſting of twelve thouſand regulated Troops, the reſt of the Militia. Several Squadrons of Granadiers, and of the Carabiniers, having thrown themſelves with break of day into the River, ſome with only their Swords in hand, the reſt with their Fuſcees and Bayonets; the Enemy fired very furiouſly upon them; notwithſtanding which, *Battle near Ter. 27 May.*

they advanced with an undaunted Courage, and attack'd them with ſo much Bravery, that they entring Pall-mall with them in their Camp, forced them to quit their Entrenchments. In the mean while, the beſt of the whole Army, having paſſed the River, advanced in good Order to give them Battle. The *Spaniſh* Horſe received them with an extraordinary Courage, whereby their Infantry got leiſure to retire. The Cavalry was brought ſeveral times into confuſion, and Rally'd as often, till at laſt being quite broken, moſt of them were cut to pieces, they being purſued for three Hours together to the Defiles. A good part of the Infantry underwent the ſame Fate; ſo that we obtained a compleat Victory, with the loſs of only two or three hundred Men on our ſide. The Enemies had betwixt four or five thouſand kill'd and wounded, and we took above three thouſand Priſoners, all their Baggage, Proviſion, Ammunition, and ſixteen Colours. Immediately after the gaining of the Battle, the Marſhal *de Noailles* beſieged *Palamos*, a ſmall Maritime Town, but well fortified. There was a Garriſon of three thouſand Men in the place, which did defend themſelves only five days after the Place began to be Batter'd by our Cannon, both by Sea and Land. For whilſt the Marſhal attack'd it by Land, a *French* Squadron of Men of War, batter'd it by Sea. After we had made our ſelves Maſters of the Counterſcarp, there were two Breaches in the Wall, but ſo narrow, that not above one Man could mount it at a time in Front; Some Soldiers having taken notice of it, ſhew'd it to their Officers,

Siege of Palamos.

who

who approving of their Design, they mounted the Breach, entred the City, and taking advantage of the general Consternation; this unexpected Sight of the Enemy upon the Ramparts, had put them into, they soon made themselves Masters of the City, on the 7th of *June*: The Fort or Castle, being forced to Surrender at Discretion, within three days after; the Marshal, without loosing time, sat down before *Gironne*

This Place was so considerable for its Strength, that in the Year 1684, it obliged the *French* Army to raise the Siege. But our late Victory near the River *Ter*, the taking of *Palamos*, the furious discharges of our Batteries, and the vast number of our Bombs, which did great Execution, and set the Town on fire; besides the little hopes there was of being relieved, obliged the Inhabitants and Garrison to Capitulate in five days. We made our selves Masters of several other places betwixt *Gironne* and *Barcelona*, and all the Country round was seised with such a Consternation, that their Capital City it self would scarce have been able to hold out a Week against our victorious Arms, if the Heats had not been so excessive, as to prevent us from undertaking the Siege; and the Confederate Fleet was so seasonably to their Assistance, and had supply'd them both with Ammunition and Men. This was the only Fruit they reap'd from the Equipment of so numerous a Fleet, it being fear'd otherwise, that the *Spaniards* might have concluded a separate Peace with us, if they had not come to their Relief; It was also sup-

Gironne *taken.*

posed that at the Sollicitations of the Duke of *Savoy*, this Fleet was to endeavour the regaining of *Villa Franca*. It was composed of one hundred and thirty Sail, among which were threescore and fifteen for the Line of Battle. It was given out that they were to Retake *Nice*, to Bombard *Thoulon*, and to lay *Marseilles* in Ashes. There were also some who pretended that they were to chastise *Genove*, for refusing to join with the Confederacy. But all th se Projects vanished into Smoak, they being disenabled for want of Provisions, and by the many Distempers that reigned among the Seamen, to undertake any thing of moment; they kept the Sea for some time after, till the approaching Winter Season forced them to seek for a safe Retreat in the *Spanish* Ports.

Descent in Camaret-Bay.

Their Fleet in the Ocean made more Noise, but did not much more Damage. They made an attempe upon *Camaret*-Bay, at the neck of a Land, which juts into the Sea, near *Foreſt*. Of eight or nine hundred Men, who Landed by the help of their Chaloops, betwixt three and four hundred were killed, the rest made Prisoners. The rest of their Forces that were to second the Attack, being deterr'd by the ill Success of their Comrades, and the continual Fire from our Entrenchments upon the Sea-shoar, did not judge it advisable to attempt any further Descent; but under the Protection of some of their Frigats, return'd to their Ships. On the 22th day of *July*, they Bombarded *Diepe*, which was laid in Ashes; most of the Houses of this City being of Wood, and closely built; the

Diepe Bombarded

the Inhabitants fled from their Habitations, with their beſt Moveables; the Fire conſumed the whole City, there being no body to ſtop its Fury. But the Enemies were great Gainers by this Bargain, it having been computed, that this Expedition coſt them more than the re-building of the whole City could amount to.

On the 20th of *July*, they appear'd before *Havre de Grace*, which they likewiſe Bombarded for ſome time, as well as *Calais*, but without doing any conſiderable Damage; the Fire having been ſoon extinguiſhed by the Care of the Inhabitants. This done, they made an attempt upon the Forts which guard the Entrance of the Port of *Dunkirk*; two Engines, not unlike to that they had made uſe of at St. *Malo*'s, advanced towards the ſaid Forts with an Intention to blow them up; but by the help of the Cannon mounted upon ſeveral Batteries along the Sea-ſhoar, theſe two Veſſels were blown up into the Air, at about a thouſand yards diſtance from the Mole.

The little Succeſs of this Campaign on the Confederates ſide, did in ſome meaſure abate the Heat of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who for theſe ſeven years laſt paſt, had bore the greateſt Share in the vaſt Expences of the War. In *Holland*, the common People cry'd out aloud for Peace, in *London*, tho' they did not do it ſo publickly, yet they were very deſirous of it. The Parliament took an Account of the Supplies granted for the uſe of the War, and what Share each of the Allies ought to have in the Expences, purſuant to *Campaign* 1695.

the Treaty's, concluded for that purpoſe. They excluded the *Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons from their Houſe, and impriſon'd ſeveral of their Members. They alſo Summon'd the Earl of *Danby* (Duke of *Leeds*) Preſident of the Privy Council; but theſe Proceedings ceaſed with the Seſſion of Parliament.

There were ſome who look'd upon this Affront put upon one of the Prince of *Orange*'s Favourites (K. *William* III.) as a Spark of Fire, which being couch'd for ſome time under the Aſhes, might in time break out into a Flame. And their Conjectures ſeem'd not ill grounded, conſidering that ſince the Death of the Princeſs of *Orange* (Queen *Mary*) eldeſt Daughter to the King of *England*, who died on the 18th of *December*, in the Year 1694. King *James*'s Party began to appear more formidable than before; and that the Differences betwixt the Court and the Princeſs of *Denmark*, only Siſter of the deceaſed Princeſs (Q. *Mary*) might furniſh them with an opportunity to Foment the inteſtine Diviſions in that Kingdom; or that perhaps ſome of the Confederates, diſcouraged by the change of Affairs in *England*, might not proſecute the War with the ſame Vigour as before. But it was not long before theſe Hopes were fruſtrated in the end. For the Prince (K. *William* III.) either by his good Fortune or Conduct, prevented all theſe Dangers, there being not the leaſt appearance of any Commotion. On the contrary, he ſhew'd ſuch an unparallell'd Reſolution in the whole management of his Affairs at that time,

Queen of Englands *Death.*

time, that he ſeem'd to bid Defiance to all Dangers, and inſpite of all the Intrigues, and the Hazard of quitting the Helm, at ſo critical a Juncture; he paſſed over into *Flanders* in the next Spring; to encourage and promote by his Preſence, the Zeal of the Confederate Princes, who having augmented their Forces, made all imaginable Preparations to attack us with more Vigour than ever.

According to the meaſures concerted betwixt the Confederates, they were to undertake three ſeveral Sieges at once; one in *Flanders*, another in *Italy*, and a third in *Catalonia*, whilſt two good Fleets were to Alarm our Coaſts, and to deſtroy our Sea-Port Towns. It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Confederates were at preſent in a much better Condition than ever ſince the beginning of the War, to undertake ſomething of Moment to raiſe the drooping Courage of their Subjects; and it muſt alſo be allow'd, that they were more ſucceſsful this Campaign than before, tho' at the ſame time, they ſucceeded but in one of theſe three. For the *Germans* were not in a capacity to act offenſively, having been much diminiſhed by ſeveral large Detachments, ſent to reinforce their Army's in *Flanders*. The *Spaniards* beſieged *Caſtle Follit* in *Catalonia*, but at the approach of the Duke of *Vendoſme*, who Commanded inſtead of the Marſhal *de Noailles*, who was ſaln ſick at the opening of the Campaign, they quitted the Siege.

Towards the end of the Summer, they ſat down before *Palamos*, but with no better ſucceſs, for after five days of opening the

Trenches, they raised the Siege, upon notice that the Duke was marching against them.

For these two years past, the Emperour and *Spain* had press'd the Duke of *Savoy*, to lay Siege to *Casal*, a Place situate upon the River *Po*; and so considerable for its advantageous Situation, betwixt *Savoy* and the *Milaneze*, the Petty Principalities of *Mantua*, *Modena*, and *Parma*. The *Spaniards* (who within fifty or sixty years have besieged this Place five several times) have for a considerable time been very ambitious of becoming Masters of this Place, which for its convenient Situation would open to them the way to the Conquest of all *Italy*. The Emperour's Design being founded upon the same Maxim, the Duke of *Savoy*, for fear of endangering his own Liberty, had hitherto refused to join with them in the Siege of this Place. But the Council at *Vienna* having at last found Means, to remove all Jealousy, perswaded the Duke to consent to it. Accordingly they made prodigious Preparations for the carrying on of this Siege, and that with so much Expedition, that the Lines and Batteries were finished in the Month of *April*. But the first Attempt prov'd fruitless, the Snows and cold Season having obliged the Confederate Army to return to their Winter Quarters; so that the Siege was not renew'd till five Weeks after. The neighbouring *Italian* Princes finding them to persist in their Resolution, were extreamly Alarm'd at it, being sensible that the Emperour, who had already under the Pretext of providing his Forces with Winter Quarters, got a footing in *Italy*, would by the Con-

Siege of Casal.

Conqueſt of a Place of ſuch Conſequence, open himſelf a way into *Italy*. To ward this Blow, theſe Princes took a Reſolution, either to endeavour to oblige the Allies to deſiſt from this Attempt, or elſe to intercede with our King to reſtore the ſaid Place to the Duke of *Mantua*, with its Fortifications raſed, under Condition that he ſhould be reimburſed what this Place had coſt him; for which the ſaid Princes engaged themſelves to be Guarantees. The King had bought this place for five Millions of Livres, and it had coſt him three more ſince, without reaping any other Advantage by it, than to be ready at hand to ſuccour the Princes of *Italy*; whereas we were obliged to maintain in it a conſtant Garriſon of our beſt Troops, who might be better employed elſewhere. The King having well weighed the Matter, and that our Army in *Piedmont* was at that time not ſtrong enough to engage the Enemy, or to oblige them to raiſe the Siege, rather accepted their Propoſitions to raſe the Fortifications of the Place, than to ſacrifiſe four or five thouſand Men in the defence of it. The *Swiſs Cantons*, and the *Venetians*, having prevail'd with the Duke of *Savoy* to conſent to this Treaty, the Emperour and *Spain* were obliged to accept of the ſame Terms. Accordingly *Caſal* was ſurrendred on the tenth of *July*, when the Enemies were not as yet Maſters of any of the Outworks after thirteen days of opening of the Trenches.

Caſal *Surrendred.*

Whilſt the Confederates were before *Caſal*, the Grand Confederate Fleet, which had been this Winter in the *Spaniſh* Ports, appear'd con-

continually upon the Coſt of *Provence*, to oblige our King to employ part of his Forces for the defence of his Sea-Coaſts on that ſide, and conſequently prevent the ſending of relief to *Caſal*. The Fleet was but in an indifferent Condition by reaſon of the great Mortality among the Seamen, occaſioned by the want of freſh Proviſions, and many other Neceſſaries, which they could not be furniſhed withal, but from *England*; yet they appear'd ſo formidable, that it was given out they intended to Bombard *Thoulon* and *Marſeilles*; but knowing us to be ready to give them a warm Reception, they did not think fit to attempt it. They were cruiſing the reſt of the Summer in the Gulph of *Lyons*, in the Seas of *Cardaigne* and *Liguria*; and having been over-taken by a moſt violent Storm, in which they loſt five of their great Ships, they came to an Anchor before *Palamos*; Having received Intelligence that we began to equip at *Thoulon*, they choſe the open Sea, cruiſing from one Place to another, without any other Deſign than to pick up now and then ſome of our Privateers, and to diſturb our Commerce.

St Malo bombarded.

The Second Fleet of the Confederates in the Ocean conſiſted of Thirty great Ships, Twenty Bomb-Veſſels, and many other Ships loaden with Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries. This Squadron bombarded St. *Malo*, but did no further damage than to burn Ten Houſes, and to endamage ſeveral others; the whole Loſs being computed at One hundred thouſand Livres. But *Dunkirk* being the Place which the Enemy aim'd at, they were ſo

ſo well prepared for their Reception, that they appear'd rather like Men, with hopes of a Victory, than diſcourag'd with fear at the Approach of an Enemy; the entrance of the Harbour being well provided with Batteries, with Chains, and a good number of Chaloops full of armed Men, commanded by our beſt Marine Officers. The firſt Bombs of the Enemies falling above two hundred yards diſtance from the Town; the Inhabitants, even to the Children got on the top of the Houſes, and upon the Baſtions, to be Spectators of this Bombardment. Four Fireſhips approached the wooden Forts that defend the Mole, but were met by the Chaloops, who blew them up into the Air, in the open Sea, in the Sight of the People; the ſame Chaloops alſo boarded and took one of their great Ships, which they ſet on Fire. They threw in all betwixt eleven and twelve Hundred Bombs, which did ſo little damage that it might be all repair'd for thirty Piſtols. Attempt upon *Dunkirk.*

In hopes of better Succeſs, the ſame Fleet Bombarded *Calais* twice in the Month of *Auguſt.* But the loſs ſuſtain'd by both theſe Bombardments did ſcarce amount to ten thouſand Crowns. Another convincing Inſtance of what we ſaid before, that their Enterprizes at Sea ſucceed but ſeldom, and that they rarely prove anſwerable to the vaſtneſs of their Expences. *Calais* Bombarded.

The main effort of this Campaign, as well as of moſt of the others, was made on the ſide of *Flanders.* The Armies Encamped very numerous in the Field on both ſides, and thirty

thirty Thousaud brave Fellows lost their Lives, without coming to a Field Battle. For these three years last past the Confederates had formed a Design to attack our Lines, to ravage our Conquests, and to besiege *Dunkirk*. To prevent their Design, the King ordered new Lines to be made from the *Schelde* to the *Lis*, and from *Courtray* to the Sea-side. Twenty Thousand Pioneers made a Ditch of fourteen Thousand Foot long, fifteen Foot broad, and twelve Foot deep, with an Entrenchment behind it of ten Foot high, in less than eight days time. These Lines being a fresh Obstacle to the design of the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) he assembled the Confederate Army with all possible diligence near *Ipres*, to endeavour to obstruct the Perfecting of this Work, the Lines on that side being not quite brought to Perfection. Our Army was above five and twenty Thousand Men inferiour in number to theirs, and much harassed by a long March of twice four and twenty hours, and consequently not in a condition, without taking some repose, to make any considerable resistance; besides that, not above one half of their Train of Artillery was arrived in the Camp. The Confederate Army consisted of above an Hundred Thousand Men, all fresh Troops, provided with a prodigious Train of Artillery, so that every thing seemed to concurr to their advantage; but they let slip the opportunity of attacking us at the right nick of time; for in a few hours after our Cannon arrived in the Camp, and our Troops having refreshed themselves a little,

little, the Lines were brought to Perfection the next following Night.

Thus having miſs'd their aim, they made an attempt upon *Fort Knock*, which they attacked three ſeveral times, and were as often repulſed, with the loſs of two Thouſand Men, ſo that in eight days time they had not got an Inch of Ground. But a little time convinc'd the World that a much greater Deſign was carrying on under the pretence of this Attack. For in the mean while the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) had ſent ſome of his beſt Troops towards the *Meuſe*, and ſo ſoon as he had received advice that the Troops of *Liege* and *Brandenburgh* had inveſted *Namur*, he and the Elector of *Bavaria* followed in Perſon, with the reſt of the Army to aſſiſt at the Siege, leaving only thirty Thouſand Men under the Command of the Prince of *Vaudemont* in the *Lower Flanders*.

Attack of Fort Knock.

Namur was ſo well provided with every thing neceſſary for its defence, that it was not queſtioned but it would make a long and vigorous reſiſtance. *Lewis Francis*, Marſhal of *Bouflers* had thrown himſelf into the place the ſame day it was Inveſted. There was a Garriſon in it of ten Thouſand eight hundred Men, many good Officers, and a great number of brave Volunteers, and Ammunition more than was requiſite for its defence; all which advantages appeared to be ſuch obſtacles to the Enemies, that moſt were of Opinion they would be too many for them to ſurmount, and that they would be forced to quit this Enterprize.

The

Death of the Marshal *de Luxenburgh.*

The Marshal *de Luxenburgh* died in the beginning of *January* of a Pleurisie, which proved a considerable loss to the King, there being not a General left who surpassed him in Experience and Conduct, by which he had made his Name glorious to the World, and dreadful to the Enemy.

The King having received news of the Siege, sent his Orders to *Francis de Neuville Villeroy*, Marshal of *France*, who succeeded the Duke of *Luxenburgh* in the Command of the Grand Army in *Flanders*, to enter the *Lower Flanders*, and if possible, to fight the Prince of *Vaudemont*. Pursuant to these Orders he advanced towards the Enemy, who would infallibly have been put to the rout, if the Prince, pursuant to his Orders of avoiding any Engagement, had not found means to make a safe Retreat; so that in lieu of routing the whole Army (of which in all humane appearance but few could have escaped) we were forced to be contented with the defeat of two of their Regiments, who were most of them cut to pieces in the Pursuit. The most Fortunate Retreat that ever was made; for if the Princes Army had been routed, the Confederates must of necessity have raised the Siege of *Namur*.

Retreat of prince *Vaudemont*

Ten days after this retreat the Duke *de Villeroy* Besieged *Dixmuyden*, which place surrendered in four and twenty hours; *Deinse* opened its Gates at the approach of our Forces. There were above eight thousand Men of well disciplin'd Troops in these two places, who were all made Prisoners of War, besides

The taking of *Deinse* and *Dixmuyden.*

beſides which, we found the Magazine as full of all ſorts of Ammunition, and this part of the Country having been preſerved on purpoſe by the Confederates, our Soldiers got an incredible Booty.

By the Conqueſt of the two Places, our Forces having open'd themſelves the way towards *Ghent* and *Antwerp*, the *Flemmings* as well as the *Hollanders* were extreamly allarm'd at it, eſpecially when they ſaw them advance but ſlowly in the Siege of *Namur*, tho' they were plentifully provided with every thing for a vigorous Attack, and that they had the advantage of very fair Weather, whereas at the time when we beſieged it, our Forces were not only to fight againſt the bravery of the Garriſon, but alſo againſt the Inconveniencies of a Rainy and Stormy Seaſon. They had raiſed before it thirty Batteries, upon which were mounted an Hundred and thirty pieces of Cannon, and Fourſcore Mortars. This dreadful Artillery play'd without Intermiſſion againſt the Place, as long as the Siege laſted, in which they conſumed three Millions of Powder. Their Army was very formidable, and conſtantly reinforc'd with freſh Troops; what Place is able to hold out againſt ſuch an Attack? Notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, the Confederates could not be Maſters of the whole, till after a Siege of two Months, the Beſieged, like brave Soldiers, diſputing with them every Inch of Ground. Of this we ſaw an Inſtance at the taking of the Entrenchments, which were made only in haſte at ſome diſtance from the Town, to hinder the ſud-

Siege of *Namur* by the Allies.

den

den approach of an Enemy: Monſieur *de Regnac*, who commanded them in Chief, made ſo many Sallies as fill'd up their Trenches, threw up whole Battallions by the ſpringing of his Mines, into the Air, that it coſt the Enemy eight days time before they could make themſelves Maſters of them, after they had been repulſed in the firſt Aſſault, and that the *French* had been reduc'd to theſe ſtreights as not to have room enough left to make new Entrenchments. The City did not Capitulate till after four and twenty days of opening of the Trenches, all their covert ways, and other Outworks being ſo entirely ruin'd by the Enemies great Artillery, that without the utmoſt hazard they could not pretend to ſuſtain a third Aſſault. The firſt aſſault was the moſt terrible that had been ſeen in the Memory of Man, it being no leſs obſtinate than bloody. It was a moſt dreadful Sight to behold the dead Carcaſſes lying in great Heaps, and to hear the doleful Groans and Cries of the dying and wounded Soldiers. The Allies renew'd the Attack four ſeveral times, without being able to lodge themſelves within either of the Trenches, though all the ſame time theſe were ſeconded by a ſhower of Carcaſſes, Bombs, and red hot Bullets, which were ſhot within the Works of the Town.

The Trenches opened before *Namur*, betwixt the 11*th* and 12*th* of July.

The City of *Namur* taken.

This brave Reſiſtance giving us all imaginable hopes that the Caſtle would be able to defend it ſelf much longer, the Marſhal *de Villeroy* advanc'd with his Army towards *Bruſſels* to Bombard that Place, unleſs the Confederades would agree not to Bombard any

any place for the future without a formal Siege. Never was any Enterprize more advantageously undertaken, and more dexteously manag'd than this Bombardment. For within the place was a very strong Garrison, and the Prince of *Vaudemont* with his Army was Encamp'd under the Walls; besides that another flying Body of at least Twelve Thousand Men was continually in Motion to observe us, and one side of the Town was laid under Water. At the end of a great Causey (the only way by which we could approach the Town,) the Enemies had made an Entrenchment of twenty Foot high, having before it a low way, which served for a Ditch. But all these Obstacles were not sufficient to hinder the Marshal *de Villeroy* from opening his Trenches, and raising his Batteries in spite of all their Entrenchments, neither the Garrison, or of Prince *Vaudemont*'s Army which laid Entrenched on the backside of the Town, making the least Motion, either at our Arrival before, or at our Marching off from before the Place. All the Batteries being ready to Play, the Marshal *de Villeroy* sent his Propositions, of not Bombarding any Place for the future without a formal Siege. But the Elector of *Bavaria*, whose Intention was to gain time, being come to *Brussels*, the Marshal threw four Thousand Bombs in three Nights time into the Place. 'Tis impossible to express the Confusion and Terrour occasioned by the fury of our Bombs in so populous a City. The best and strongest Edifices being destroyed, and two thirds of the whole City

Brussels Bombarded.

either Burnt, or laid Level to the Ground.

From hence our Army Marched towards *Namur*. The Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III) having received Intelligence of their Approach, and being joined by the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and another Re-inforcement drew up his whole Army behind his Lines, leaving only Twenty Thouſand Men to guard the Trenches, with a Reſolution to avoid Fighting as long as poſſible he could, and to keep on the Defenſive, being covered on all ſides by unpaſſable Boggs, thick Wood and Hedges, and defended by double Entrenchments at all the Avenues. The Marſhal *de Villeroy* left nothing unattempted upon this Occaſion; he himſelf went in Perſon to take a View of the Woods and Defiles, to ſee whether by ſome way or other it were not poſſible to force the Enemies Quarters without too much expoſing the Soldiers to the Slaughter, but found all the Avenues ſo well ſecur'd, that it was impoſſible to attack the Enemy,

All the hopes of Relief being cut off by the Retreat of the *French* Army. The Confederates attack'd the Caſtle with new Vigour. Their great Artillery had done ſuch terrible Execution againſt the Caſtle, that all the Out-works appear'd no otherwiſe than like ſo many heaps of Stone or Rubbiſh, the poor Soldiers being for the moſt part forced to ſhelter themſelves in the Vaults againſt the Fury of the Bombs and Bullets which made Breaches every where, each of which was big enough for a whole Battallion to Mount in Front. The Marſhal *de Bouflers* having

having refuſed to hearken to the Summons ſent him by the Confederates, they prepared for a general Aſſault, which was made in eleven ſeveral places at once.

The day appointed for this Bloody Action being come, the Beſieged ſaw about ten a Clock in the Morning the Enemies Infantry appear in two Columns above the Trenches, advancing in good order towards the Breaches. Three Thouſand of their beſt Men, at the Head of whom were the *Engliſh* Granadiers, did out-brave all the reſt in attempting to mount the Breach made in the Body of the Caſtle. There was at leaſt ſix Hundred Yards diſtance betwixt the head of the Trenches and the ſaid Breach, defended on both ſides with ſeveral Out-works, well provided with a ſufficient number of Soldiers But thoſe brave Fellows made their way thro' all theſe Obſtacles, and advanced ſo briskly in ſpight of the Enemies Fire, which galled them ſo in Front and Flank, that the firſt Battallion planted their Colours on the top of the Breach. This Battallion being brought into Confuſion by the irreſiſtible Bravery of the Beſieged, the ſecond took their place, till being quite broken as well as the former, the flying Soldiers preſſing upon one another, brought the reſt that were to Second them likewiſe in Confuſion, who thereupon retreated in great diſorder. All the other Aſſaults were made and repulſed with the ſame Bravery, notwithſtanding the Garriſon was quite exhauſted of Strength by the continual Fatigues, and for want of Reſt; but being animated by the Example of the Marſhal,

and the rest of the Officers, who also remonstrated to them that the Honour of the Nation laid at Stake, and that their safety depended only on the points of their Swords; they gave such Signal Proofs of their Bravery, that the Enemies were repulsed in all their Attacks with great Slaughter, which lasted till five a Clock in the Afternoon. This was a most glorious day for the Besieged; but they had lost so many of their Men in this occasion, that finding themselves not in a Capacity to sustain another Assault, the Marshal *de Boufflers* was forc'd to Capitulate, and to surrender the Castle on the first day of *November*. *Namur* was purchased at a very dear rate by the Confederates, who, beside the immense Expences bestowed in the carrying on of this Siege, lost twenty Thousand Men, the Flower of their whole Army.

The Castle of *Namur* surrender'd.

Campaign 1666.

The Confederates being flush'd with this Success, boasted every where of this Conquest, but the wiser sort among them were not much overjoyed at this Advantage, as looking upon it as a means to retard the conclusion of a Peace. For the People being exhausted with Taxes, wished very earnestly for a Peace, as the only means to free them from those heavy Impositions. Their Commerce was considerably diminished, our Privateers, who continually infested their Coasts, taking some of them every Day; it having been Computed, that the *English* alone have since the beginning of this War, lost four Thousand two Hundred Merchant Men, valued by themselves at thirty Millions of Sterling.

ling. But there appeared in *England* many other Cauſes of Inteſtine Diviſions and Confuſion. For the Money began to be very ſcarce, and was ſo much Clipp'd of late Years, that its intrinſick value did not amount to two thirds, ſometimes not to one half of what it ought to be. As nothing is more pernicious and deſtructive to Commerce than the adulteration of Money, ſo theſe Diſorders made many grumble againſt the Government, it being a cuſtomary thing for the Common People to impute any publick Diſaſter to the miſ-management of thoſe at the Helm, which was alſo improved by a Party, who inſinuated into the People that great ſtore of the *Engliſh* Coin was Tranſported into *Holland*. The Agents of the King of *England* believing the preſent juncture very favourable to their Deſign, ſet all their Engines at work for his Reſtauration. They brought over many to their ſide, ſome out of Novelty, others being moved by a ſeaſonable Repentance, others out of Affection to their King joined in the Deſign of reſtoring him to the Throne. They could ſcarce have wiſh'd for a more favourable Opportunity, the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) having left the Kingdom deſtitute of Troops, and without a Fleet to guard the Coaſts. All his Troops were tranſported to *Flanders*, the grand Fleet was at *Cadiz*, and a good Squadron of his beſt Ships lately gone out of the *Downs*, to join thoſe in the *Streights*. The King of *England* encourag'd by theſe hopes of Succeſs, came to *Calais* with a Body of Sixteen Thouſand Men of old Troops, un-

der the Command of several experienc'd Generals, who were ready to Embark at an hours warning. But the Winds proving contrary for some time, the whole Design was discover'd, and we lost at once both the time and hopes of putting it in Execution. For no sooner had the *Dutch* received Intelligence of this intended descent; but they put to Sea with a Squadron of twelve stout Ships, which cruised before *Calais*. The Prince of *Orange* K. *William* III. without shewing the least Concern at the greatness of the Danger, soon found means to disperse these Clouds. He secured many suspected Persons, recalled his Fleets, and some of his Troops out of *Flanders*, and secur'd the Sea-Coasts on that side, which was most exposed to danger, with a good Body of the Militia. A Plot, when once discover'd, seldom takes effect, and in lieu of proving destructive to those against whom it was intended, prroves generally the chief means of their Establishment. Both the Houses of Parliament gave upon this occasion new Demonstrations of their Zeal and firm Adherence to the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, (King *William* III.) by entring into an Association not only to maintain his Interest against all Pretenders, but also to revenge his Death if he should happen to be snatch'd away by some sinister Attempt against his Life. Having received these fresh Assurances of their Zeal for his Person and Interest, he took such sure measures to prevent all future Danger of this kind, that without any further delay he passed over into *Flanders*.

At

At his Arrival in *Flanders* he found the King's Armies in the Field before him, and in the *Spaniſh* Territories. The King having taken a Reſolution to be upon the defenſive, and ſent his Orders to the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, who was to Command the *French* Army in the *Lower Flanders*, to poſſeſs himſelf at the beginning of the Campaign of ſome advantageous Poſt, from whence he might both obſerve the Enemies Motions, and prevent their Deſigns, and ſubſiſt in their Territories till the end of the Campaign. The Army near the *Meuſe* was Commanded by the Marſhal *de Bouflers*, who, purſuant to the King's Orders, had divided his Army into four ſeveral Bodies, at ſuch a convenient diſtance as to be able to join upon any occaſion, and at the ſame time to cover the *French* Conqueſts. All the meaſures taken by the Confederates being broken by theſe ſeaſonable Precautions, they were forced to conſume their own Territories, all the Summer long, without being able to undertake a Siege, or come to an Engagement, though they appear'd more formidable now than ever. Their Fleet conſiſted of an Hundred and Thirty Sail, but did no other feats but to burn a few Houſes at *Calais*, near the Sands of *Cologne*, and at St. *Martins*. They had three Armies in the Low-Countries, one conſiſting of five and twenty, or thirty Thouſand Men, under the Command of the Prince of *Vaudemont* in the *Lower Flanders*, which however was not ſtrong enough to Encounter the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, who Forraged to the very Gates of *Ghent*, and exacted Contributions from all the

circumjacent Countries. Their Grand Army at leaſt half as ſtrong again, threatned ſometimes one, ſometimes another Place with a Siege, but could not meet with a favourable opportunity to put it in Execution. A third Army of eighteen or twenty Thouſand Men, all *Germans*, advanced towards the ſide of *Namur*, under the Command of the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſal*. They remain'd in that Poſt for about a Month, when for want of Pay, or opportunity of being employed in *Flanders*, they returned towards the *Rhine*.

Neither did the Confederates act with much better Succeſs on the *German* ſide. The Prince of *Baden* keeping cloſe within his Lines till the latter end of *Auguſt*, not thinking it adviſeable to meet the Marſhal de *Choiſeul*, who had paſſed the *Rhine* with the *French* Army, and ſtayed on this ſide near ſix Weeks. After the return of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Prince of *Baden* paſſed the *Rhine*, and in Conjunction with the reſt, Marched towards *Philipsbourgh*, without attempting any thing againſt the Place. They afterwards advanced nearer the Marſhal, but ſpent the reſt of their time in Cannonading one anothers Camp, without coming to an Engagement.

The Duke of *Vendoſme* had but a ſmall Army in *Catalonia*, more conſiderable for the goodneſs of his Troops than their Number. Yet he remained Maſter of the Field all that Campaign, being belov'd and eſteem'd by the Inhabitants of the Country, and dreaded by the *Spaniards*. He defeated the Body of their Cavalry, much Superiour in number of Squadrons to his. He demoliſh'd many of their Caſtles,

Caſtles which ſerved them for places of Retreat. He obſerved ſo cloſely the Motions of their Army, that he encloſed them betwixt the Mountains and their Entrenchment, where, without ſtriking a Stroak, they loſt more Men than they could have done in an Engagement.

In *Italy* the Marſhal *de Catinat* appear'd in the Field with a very numerous Army, compoſed of ſome of our beſt Troops, the King having taken a reſolution either to Conquer all the Country as yet remaining under the Obedience of the Duke of *Savoy*, or to oblige that Prince to accept of a Peace. So ſoon as the Enemy receiv'd Intelligence that the *French* were preparing to paſs the Mountains, they employ'd a great number of Workmen to cover the City of *Turin* againſt any Attempt, by making ſtrong Lines and Entrenchments, they carried all the common Cattle into places of Security, and by their Army, and numerous Parties which they ſent abroad every Day, endeavour'd to hinder our Communication with *Pignerol*. Our Army finding nothing elſe to ſubſiſt on but what they were ſupply'd with by our Convoys, did ſuffer Extreamly in their March, which was not very haſty, we being at the ſame time in Treaty with the Duke of *Savoy*, and upon the point of concluding it.

After the Breach of the Truce, the King had in his *Manifeſt* ſufficiently teſtified his Intention of Sacrificing all his Conqueſts to the re-eſtabliſhment of the publick Tranquility, and that he had not taken up Arms to enlarge his Frontiers, but to defend himſelf

ſelf againſt the Attempts of the Confederate Princes. Upon the ſame ſcore it was, that both before the Siege of *Philipsbourgh* and after the reduction not only of that Place, but alſo of the whole Palatinate, he preſſed the Allies to change the Truce made at *Ratisbonne*, in the Year 1684. into a laſting Peace. Upon the ſame account alſo after taking *Villa Franca Nice*, and *Montmelian*, he offer'd the Duke of *Savoy* to reſtore to him all the Conqueſts he had made on that ſide. *Caſal* being demoliſh'd ſince that time, the Duke of *Savoy*'s Inclinations began to bend ſtrongly towards a Peace. Peace is ſo deſirable in it ſelf, that when offer'd ought not to be refus'd. Happy is that Prince who knows how to improve ſuch an Opportunity to his own Advantage.

'Tis true, the Duke made ſome Preparations in the next Spring to Beſiege *Pignerol*, but his Intention was rather to oblige us to demoliſh it than to reduce it by force of Arms. He had Eſpouſed one of the Daughters of the Duke of *Orleance*, only Brother to our King, who having no Daughters, had Married the eldeſt of his Nieces to the King of *Spain*, the ſecond to the Duke of *Savoy*. The Queen of *Spain* died without Iſſue, but the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* had had three Princeſſes; to one of theſe the King reſolv'd to Marry the eldeſt of his Grandſons, to renew by this Marriage the ancient Alliance betwixt *France* and the Duke of *Savoy*.

This Alliance and the preſent Advantage of removing theſe inconveniencies which attended the War at ſo great a diſtance, made the King

King consent to the demoliſhing of *Pignerol*, and to reſtore the Duke into the immediate Poſſeſſion of all his Territories, except *Suſa*, *Nice*, and *Montmelian*, which were to be left in the King's Hands till the Concluſion of the general Peace.

Peace with the Duke of *Savoy* in *Auguſt.*

The Duke on the other Hand oblig'd himſelf by a ſeparate Article, to propoſe to the Confederates a Neutrality in *Italy*, and if they refuſed to accept of it, to join his Forces with *France* to oblige them to it.

During the Treaty with *Savoy*, the King had granted a Truce for one Month, which afterwards was prolonged at the Requeſt of the Pope, and the reſt of the Princes of *Italy*, who were not willing to let ſlip this opportunity that offer'd, to rid their hands of the *German*, and other Forreign Forces.

But the Confederates were ſo far from accepting the Dukes Propoſitions, that on the contrary they left no ſtone unturn'd, by threats, and Promiſes, to perſwade him to alter his Reſolution. But he ſtood immovable to all theſe Inſinuations, and the time of the Truce being expir'd, join'd his Forces with thoſe of our King's, who advanc'd towards the *Milaneze* Territories, to form the Siege of *Valenza.*

Siege of *Valenza.*

The Marſhal *de Catinat* Commanded both theſe Armies under the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Trenches being opened before the Place towards the end of *September*, we carried on our Works with ſuch Succeſs, that the Place was juſt upon the point of Capitulating, when a Meſſenger arrived in the Camp on the ninth day of *October*, with this agreeable

Neutrality for *Italy*

ble News, that at last the Ministers of the Emperor, and *Spain* had accepted of the Neutrality; the chiefest Conditions were,

That the Princes of *Italy* should allow a certain Sum to the Emperor, to redeem the Winter-Quarters.

And that the *German* Forces should begin their March, in order to return into their own Country, the same day that the King's Army in *Italy*, should return into *France*.

The King gain'd great Advantages by the Peace of *Italy*; Thirty Thousand Men of his best Troops, with a great General, who had hitherto been Employed on that side, might be made use of with much less Expence against the Enemy in another place, which must needs oblige them then to make a Peace with us, or to continue the War with more Vigour, and greater Expences than before.

We reap'd also another Advantage by it, which ought not to be pass'd by in Silence, which was the Princess *Maria Adalaida*, Eldest Daughter of *Victor Amadeus* II. Duke of *Savoy*, and *Anna Mariæ* of *Orleance*, Spouse to the Duke of *Burgundy*. After the Ratification of the Peace, this Princess was conducted into *France*, though the Consummation of the Marriage was deferr'd for fifteen Months longer. She was all that time not quite Eleven Years of Age, but shew'd such a vivacity of Wit, and so much Conduct in all her Actions, that she was the admiration of the whole Court; the Duke of *Burgundy* being not then above fourteen years;

The Dutchess of *Burgundy*.

Mar

Maria Victoria of *Bavaria*, *Dauphine* of *France*, died in the Year 1690. in the Flower of her Age; ſhe was a Princeſs of Extraordinary Merit, of a great Soul, whoſe chiefeſt aim was to ſee the Princes her Sons Educated in the love of Vertue and glorious Actions. Death of the Dauphineſs.

Betwixt this Princeſs, and *Lewis*, Dauphin of *France* were begotten three Princes, *Lewis* Duke of *Burgundy*, born the eighth day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1682. *Philip*, Duke of *Anjou*, born on the 29th day of *December*, in the Year 1683. and *Charles* Duke of *Berry*, on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, in the Year 1684. Never had any Princes in the World more noble Education, their generous Inclinations being improved, not only by their Governour *Paul*, Duke *de Beauvilliers Saint Aignant*, and their Tutor, *Francis de Salignac Fenelon*, Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, but alſo by the ſingular Care of the King and Dauphin, who with ſo much Application did ſhew them the way to true Vertue, that following both the Footſteps and Inſtructions of ſuch Guides, there never appear'd in any Princes in the World more noble Sentiments, and generous Inclinations, than in theſe three; the Eldeſt having given already to the *French* Nation, by his happy diſpoſition to Vertuous Actions, all the imaginable hopes of becoming one day a great Prince. If the vertuous Inclinations of Princes are like Springs, which derive their noble Effects, and Communicate them to their Subjects, nothing is ſo great but what may be expected from the happy Marriage of ſo accompliſh'd a Prince, The three ſons of the Dauphin.

with

with a Princeſs, whoſe Merits equalize, if not ſurpaſs her high Extraction, and that moſt eminent Station ſhe is placed by Providence in the World.

The Peace of *Italy* proved the happy forerunner of a general Peace. It was two years ſince, ſeveral Propoſals had been made upon that Account, which were often changed, according to the ſeveral change of Affairs in Chriſtendom, matters being at that time not brought to a perfect Maturity. But towards the latter end of this Campaign there appear'd more diſpoſition in the Confederates for a Peace, than before; and the People both in *England* and *Holland* ſhew'd much eagerneſs for it, the Allies were for the moſt part diſcouraged by the many Diſappointments they had met with, and moſt of them having no particular Intereſt in the War, began to hearken to theſe Propoſals, which were made on our King's behalf, to give Satisfaction to ſome of the Confederate Princes; thus every thing ſeem'd to tend towards the Concluſion of a general Peace, if an un-foreſeen Obſtacle had not overturn'd all theſe fair hopes.

Charles II. K. of *Spain.*

Charles II. the preſent King of *Spain*, happen'd to fall ill in the beginning of *October*, ſo as to have three ſeveral Relapſes in leſs than ſix Weeks time. This Prince having no Iſſue, and all *Europe* taking Intereſt in the Quarrel which was like to ariſe after his Death about the Succeſſion; the Confederates ſhew'd not much forwardneſs to bring it to a Concluſion, till after the recovery of this Monarch. It was perhaps upon this ſcore that

that the Miniſters of the Emperor, and of ſome of the reſt of the Confederate Princes, found means to raiſe many difficulties concerning the Paſſes, and the place where the Ambaſſadours were to meet to carry on the Negotiation of Peace. The Conferences were already begun at the *Hague*, as being the Center where the Miniſters of the Confederacy uſed to meet, beſides that the *Dutch* ſhewed more Inclination for the Peace than the reſt, and made uſe of all their Endeavours to promote ſo great a Work. Money began to be ſo ſcarce among them, that they were hardly put to it to find means for the raiſing of new Troops, to furniſh their *Quota* of Men and Money, which made up the largeſt ſhare of the whole Confederacy. They were alſo under ſome apprehenſions that the Catholick Princes might be prevail'd upon, either by the Mediation of the Pope, or of the Duke of *Savoy*, to conclude a ſeparate Peace. For ſince the Concluſion of the Peace in *Italy*, the Emperor's Miniſter remain'd ſtill at *Turin*. The Governour of *Milan* had alſo taken ſeveral Journeys thither; the Count *de Teſſe* reſided there in our King's behalf, and the Marſhal *de Catinat* had ſtayed there for ſome time before he repaſſed the *Alpes*. The long ſtay of theſe Miniſters in a Court which ſo lately had changed its Intereſt, their frequent Conferences, the many Meſſengers that were continually ſent forwards and backwards, betwixt *Paris*, *Vienna*, and *Madrid*, raiſed no ſmall jealouſie in the *Dutch*, and made them fear, leſt, if the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Elector

Elector of *Bavaria*, and the other *Catholick* Princes ſhould make a ſeparate Peace, they would be left a Sacrifice to *France*.

But whilſt theſe debates laſted, both Parties began to make greater Preparations than ever for the Proſecution of the War. The King's Power appear'd more formidable than it did nine Years ago, for he had more Money, more Troops, and better Officers, than at the beginning of the War. His Forces, both in Garriſons, and in the Field, were counted to conſiſt of four hundred and twenty thouſand Men, to wit, three hundred and fifty Thouſand Foot, and threeſcore and ten Thouſand Horſe, without reckoning thoſe Employed in the Sea-Service, who were no leſs conſiderable this Year than at any time before, the King having applied all his Care to Arm in all his Ports, and Equip all the biggeſt and beſt of his Ships. The Confederates on the other ſide having taken a reſolution to make their laſt Efforts this Campaign, the Prince of *Orange*, (King *William* III.) and the *Dutch* made a defenſive League with the King of *Denmark*, by Vertue of which he was obliged to furniſh them with a certain number of Troops, and a Squadron of Men of War.

Campaign of 1697.

But in the midſt of all theſe vaſt Preparations, the Plenipotentiaries of all the Princes that were engag'd in this Bloody War, began to open the Conferences for the Concluſion of the Peace. *Delft* and the *Hague* were pitch'd upon for the Places of Reſidence of theſe Miniſters, and the Caſtle of *Riſwick*, which lies betwixt theſe two Places, to hold their Conferences

Conferdnces in. A conſiderable time before the opening of theſe Conferences, a Negotiation had been ſet on Foot at *Turin*, to conclude a Neutrality for *Catalonia*. The *Spaniards* cannot be more ſenſibly touch'd in any part of their Dominions than in *Catalonia*, which lying ſo near to the Center of the Kingdom, and Danger threatning from that ſide, puts the People of *Spain* into a Ferment, which is more dreadful among the *Spaniards* than other Nations. The King of *Spain* wanted the neceſſary Funds for the carrying on of the War; the Duke of *Savoy* having not disbanded any of his Troops, either becauſe matters were thus concerted betwixt our Court and him, or becauſe he intended to improve the preſent Conjuncture to his Advantage, the *Spaniards* could draw but few of their Troops out of the *Milaneze*. The Confederates had no Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and were conſequently not in a Condition to ſuccour them with any of their Troops in *Catalonia*; beſides, that theſe Foreign Auxiliaries prov'd more troubleſome to the Inhabitants than the Enemy; conſidering all theſe diſadvantages the Council of *Spain* were inclin'd to accept of this Neutrality, if it had not been repreſented to them by the Emperor's Miniſters, that if our King ſhould be freed at once from the War, both near the *Alpes*, and the *Pyrenean* Mountains, it would be ſo great an Addition to his Strength, that the Confederacy would be reduc'd to a neceſſity of preventing their Ruin by the Concluſion of a diſadvantageous Peace: Theſe Conſiderations were

Neutrality propoſed for *Catalonia*.

ſo prevailing with the *Spaniards*, that they neglected their own Intereſt for that of the Confederacy, and refuſed to accept of the Neutrality with *Catalonia*.

The glorious ſucceſs of the *French* Arms for theſe nine or ten Years laſt paſt, had given new occaſion of Jealouſie to the Emperor The Continuation of the War was a plauſible pretence to augment his Authority in the Empire; he had all the Reaſon in the World to be afraid of the ill ſtate of the King of *Spain*'s Health, and his infirm Conſtitution; he did alſo imagine that after the Concluſion of the Peace, the *German* Princes would not be very forward to aſſiſt him againſt the *Turks*; all which Inducements were ſufficient to diminiſh the Emperor's Inclinations for a Peace.

It was ſuppoſed that the Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) was alſo rather inclined to continue the War, but conſidering that both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſo earneſtly deſir'd it; there was not any reaſon which could oblige him to oppoſe this Negotiation. For the ſeveral Plots which had been contrived againſt him ſince his Elevation to the Throne, the decay of Commerce, the vaſt quantity of falſe and clipt Money and the ſcarcity of good Coin had cauſed ſuch Confuſions in *England*, as could not be better repair'd than by a ſpeedy Peace, eſpecially ſince the *Engliſh* ſuſtain'd ſuch conſiderable Loſſes, both by our Privateers, and the heavy Taxes, that many of their richeſt Merchants were ruin'd by the War. Add to this that the People in *Holland* were

ſo

ſo preſſing for a Peace, that for fear the States-General ſhould be prevail'd upon to conſent to a ſeparate Peace with *France*, the Emperor and the other Princes judged it moſt adviceable not to delay any longer to ſend their Plenipotentiaries to aſſiſt at the opening of the Conferences.

The King had for ſome time before ſent *Francis de Calliere*, a perſon in whom he put a ſingular Confidence, to the *Hague*, to adjuſt the main Preliminary Points with the States General of the United Provinces, and to remove all Obſtacles which might retard, or obſtruct this grand Affair, he kept upon the defenſive, for fear of raiſing new Jealouſies againſt him among the Confederates. But finding that this only ſerved for a means to retard than promote the Peace, ſome of the Confederates being buoyed up with the vain hopes of obtaining more advantageous Conditions by theſe delays, he took a reſolution to act with more Vigour this Campaign.

Since the end of the laſt Campaign the King had ordered his Magazines upon the *Rhine* to be fill'd with all manner of Proviſions: The *French* Forces which hitherto had been Employ'd in *Italy*, were put into Winter-Quarters in *Alſace*, and other adjacent Countries, and our Troops had been in Motion all the Winter, the better to amuſe the Enemy. The Neighbouring Princes being greatly Alarm'd at theſe vaſt Preparations, cauſed their Territories to be cover'd by ſtrong Entrenchments, defended by a vaſt number of Palliſadoes, and Batteries, with

Redoubts, and Forts built on all the principal Avenues, as if they all were to ſuſtain the whole Force of *France* the following Campaign. A Rumour being alſo induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, which was confirm'd by the Motions of our Forces on that ſide, that the King intended to have two great Armies in *Germany*, one near the *Upper Rhine*, to give a Diverſion to the Enemy, the other under the Marſhal *de Catinat*, to undertake a Siege upon the *Lower-Rhine*, the Confederates fortified *Mayence*, and provided this as well as other places thereabouts with ſufficient Garriſons. This Rumor continued till towards the end of *April*, the King having managed the whole Deſign with ſomuch Conduct and Secrecy, that the Generals, who were to ſerve under the Marſhal *de Catinat*, were upon the Road towards *Germany*, in expectation to make the Campaign there, when they receiv'd Orders to the contrary; and that they ſhould with all ſpeed repair to *Flanders*, whither the ſaid Marſhal was gone to form the Siege of *Aeth*.

Siege of Aeth.

This Enterprize was look'd upon as the moſt glorious that could be undertaken, the Place being ſtrongly fortified with eight Baſtions, ſurrounded with a broad and deep Ditch, full of Water. It was the ſixteenth day of *May*, when the Town was Inveſted, at which time, there was a Garriſon in it of three thouſand ſeven hundred Men. Never was a place attack'd with more precaution, and ſo much vigour; at the ſame time the King having given expreſs Orders to the Marſhal, to ſpare as much as poſſible could be his

his Troops, but to play againſt the Place the more furiouſly with his great Artillery. But the beſieged made but a feeble Reſiſtance; they fired not very briskly, nor made one Sally, when our Men made the Aſſault upon the covert Way, they left their Poſt after the firſt Diſcharge; ſo that as ſoon as we had made two breaches large enough to mount them, this ſtrong Place, which by reaſon of its many Outworks, was fear'd would coſt us a great many Men, ſurrendred by Compoſition the 6th day of *June*, in thirteen days after opening of the Trenches, with the loſs only of a hundred Men on our Side. *Surrender of* Aeth.

The Confederates had at the ſame two great Armies in *Flanders*, being both computed at a hundred and twenty thouſand Men. Our King, to diſappoint the Enemies deſign of relieving the Place, had order'd the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, to poſt himſelf on that ſide, where there was the moſt appearance of danger. The Marſhal *de Bouflers* was Encamped on the other ſide of the Town, and three other Bodies were to guard ſome other Avenues leading to it; all which were poſted at ſuch convenient diſtance, as to be able to ſecond one another in caſe of an Attack; ſo ſoon as the Enemy had been advertiſed of the Siege, they advanced towards our Lines, but whither it were that they fear'd the Deſertion of many of their Soldiers, who were very ill paid, or that they did not think it for their Intereſt to hazard a Battle at this juncture of time, when the Peace was ſo near a Con-

clusion, for fear, that if the Success should not answer their Expectation, they should be forced to rest contented with the less advantageous Conditions, they divided their Army into several Bodies, the better to cover their other Places in *Flanders*, without attempting the Relief of *Aeth*.

Soon after the taking of *Aeth*, they received a fresh Reinforcement of eighteen thousand Men, but notwithstanding their vast Number, they Entrenched themselves in their Camp, which they made impregnable by many Redoubts and Batteries. The *French* Army's continued all this Summer in the *Spanish* Territories, without being disturb'd by the Confederates, who avoided a Battle or Engagement. The remaining part of the Campaign was spent without any further Action, the Allies seeming to have no other Aim, than to prevent our Forces from undertaking any thing of moment; and both Parties being actually inclin'd to expect the issue of the Siege of *Barcelona*, and of the Diet Assembled in *Poland*, for the chusing of a Successor to their lately deceased King *John*.

John Sobieski, Grand Marshal of *Poland*, ow'd his Elevation to the Throne of *Poland*, not so much to his own Credit and Interest, as to our King's Protection, and the prudent Management of the then Bishop of *Marseilles*, and the King's Ambassadour in *Poland*; a great Politician, and one of those extraordinary Persons, who by their singular Merits become honourable to their Age, and Highly Serviceable to the Church and State.

Coll. Johnson.

This

This King acquir'd immortal Glory about nine Years after, when he left his Kingdom, and marched in the year 1683, to the relief of *Viena*. But ever ſince that time he had altred his meaſures, and in lieu of proſecuting the War with vigour againſt the Infidels, had given himſelf over to Idleneſs, his main Care being to heap up ſuch Treaſures for his Children, as to put them in a Condition either to obtain the Crown after his Death, or at leaſt to put them beyond the want of it; whereas the beſt Treaſure he could have left to his Children, would have been to bleſs them with the Love of the People. But theſe gave ſuch evident demonſtrations of the little eſteem they had for his Family, by pillaging his Eſtate during the Interregnum, that it ſufficiently appear'd to the World, that his memory was become odious to them.

John Sobieski, *K. of* Poland.

After the Death of this Prince, a general Diet was call'd together, in order to chuſe a Succeſſor to the Crown. At this critical Conjuncture, when moſt Princes of *Europe* were engaged in a War, it was no wonder, if each Party pretended to maintain their Intereſt at this Election. The Election of a King of *Poland* inclining either to the Intereſt of *France*, or the Confederacy, being look'd upon at this juncture of time of ſuch Conſequence, as to carry along with it no ſmall Influence towards the raiſing or diminiſhing the Hopes of the Confederate Princes; each Party therefore were not ſparing in making Intrigues for or againſt the Intereſt of ſuch a Perſon, as they either wiſh'd

to be elevated, or excluded from the Throne of *Poland*.

Among the reſt that pretended to the Crown, was the preſent Czar of *Muſcovy*. His Empire is of a very vaſt extent, reaching from the *Boriſthenes* to the utmoſt Confines of the North, and on the other ſide from the Frontiers of *Sweden*, to the River *Tanais*. It was repreſented to the *Poles*, how glorious 'twould be to their Nation, to chuſe a King, who Commanded over ſo vaſt a Country; but they wiſely conſider'd that their Liberty would be in no ſmall danger under ſo Potent a Maſter, who was able to bring them under Subjection, by the Force of his own Arms.

Candidates for the Crown of Poland.

Czar of Muſcovy.

The young Prince of *Lorrain*, eldeſt Son to the late Prince *Charles*, entred alſo the Liſt of the Candidates, not ſo much in hopes of ſucceeding in it, as out of an Ambition of being put in the ſame Rank with the reſt, in his younger Years.

Duke of Lorrian.

There was alſo much Diſcourſe of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; This Prince was a great Maſter of the Art of War, and had had great Succeſs againſt the Infidels in *Hungary*, whom he had vanquiſh'd at ſeveral times. The Emperour, in acknowledgment of his Services; and the Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) out of a particular Reſpect for his perſon, would without all queſtion, have eſpouſed his Intereſt; if by joynt-conſent of the Confederates, it had not been judged more adviſable to ſupport the Faction of Prince *James Sobieski*, Brother-in-Law both to the Emperour, and the Elector of *Bavaria*.

Prince Lewis of Baden.

Pr. James of Poland.

Bavaria. Every thing ſeem'd to concur for his Advantage; He was eldeſt Son to the late King, he wanted not Riches to purchaſe the Voices and Protection of the Great ones. The Princes of *Germany* had eſpouſed his Intereſt, as well as the *Dutch*; the Emperour, and Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) made uſe of all their Credit to promote his Elevation to the Crown; But all theſe Advantages, which in all outward appearance ſeem'd to be the moſt proper means to compaſs his Deſign, prov'd perhaps the true cauſe of his Diſappointment. For, his near Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had raiſed a Jealouſy in the *Poliſh* Lords, leſt, he ſhould, when once their King, improve it to their diſadvantage, and be encourag'd by the Neighbourhood of the Emperour to make uſe of his Power, to the prejudice of their Liberty. The preſſing Sollicitations made in his behalf by the *German* Princes, began to be ſuſpected by the Populace, by reaſon of a certain Jealouſy and Emulation, which is always to be obſerved betwixt two Potent neighbouring Nations. He was as Liberal in his Promiſes to pay the Debts of the Crown, in caſe he was elected King, as profuſe in his Money to gain the Hearts of the *Poles*, but in vain, nothing being able to remove the Averſion they had conceived againſt him.

The Confederates finding the *Poles* thus diſpoſed, began to deſpair of the Succeſs of the Prince, for which Reaſon they raiſed a new Faction, for the Elector of *Saxony*. The Elector promiſed to turn Catholick, and there were

Elector of Saxony. were not wanting those, who assured them that he had abjured the *Lutheran* Religion two or three Months before, notwithstanding that since that time he had made publick Profession of it. He offered ten Millions for the Payment of Arrears due to the Army, who during the time of the Interregnum had revolted for want of Pay. He promised also to maintain at his own Cost, fifteen thousand Men, and never to make Peace with the *Turks*, till he had restored all what they had taken from the *Poles*. These specious Offers would perhaps have influenced the *Poles* to prefer the Elector before the rest, if the Eyes and Hearts of the *Polish* Nobility had not been guided by the real Prospect of more solid Advantages.

Prince of Conty. The *French* Ambassador the Abbot *Malehoor de Polygnack*, recommended to them, *Francis Lewis de Bourbon*, Prince of *Conty*, the eleventh Prince of the Royal Blood of *France*, who promised to pay their Troops all their Arrears in ready Money, and to retake *Caminieck*, without the least Expence to the Commonwealth. The Prince of *Conty* had gained the Esteem of all *Europe*, not only by his Courage, but also by many great and generous Actions, and his unparallell'd Moderation. He had Signaliz'd himself in the War in *Hungary*, and since his Return, had given many Demonstrations of his Valour to the World. At *Steenkirk*, and in the Battle of *Neerwinden*, he had shew'd himself both an expert General, and a brave Soldier. These great Qualifications, which made very favourable Impressions in the hearts of a War-

War-like People, received a new Luſtre by our King's Recommendation to the Chief Men of *Poland*. But, this Negotiation met with no ſmall Difficulties, as being oppoſed by almoſt all the reſt of the *Princes* of *Europe*. The Miniſters of theſe *Princes* inſinuated without intermiſſion to the *Poles*, that to chuſe a *French Prince*, would be to put all their Neighbours into a continual Alarm; that this, whether true or falſe, would at one time or other, turn to the diſadvantage of *Poland*, which thereby would change its preſent happy Condition for the Miſeries of a long War. That their Riches and Forces would be employed to promote the ambitious Deſigns of *France*; the Prince of *Conty*, tho' inveſted with the Royal Dignity, not being diſcharged from the Obligations due to our King, whom both in point of Gratitude and Intereſt, he could not be able to refuſe, whatever he deſired.

They were alſo not ſparing both in their Threats and Promiſes; but the King's Intereſt prevailing over all their Intrigues, the Prince of *Conty* was Elected by the plurality of Votes. For of thirty two Palatinates, that appear'd in the Field, eight and twenty declared for him, the Elector of *Saxony* having only four on his ſide. This Prince being ſo much ſuperior in Number of Voices to his Competitor, was immediately proclaimed King by the Archbiſhop of *Gueſna*, Primate of *Poland*, who has the Adminiſtration of Affairs in *Poland*, during the *Interregnum*, and who alone has a Right of Proclaiming a King. *Pr.* Conty *proclaimed King of* Poland.

But

But the Elector of *Saxony*, against all the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, was likewise proclaimed King by the Bishop of *Kujavia*, who falsely pretended to this Power. The Elector's Faction raised great Disturbances in the Kingdom, endeavouring to maintain themselves by Force and violent Means. The most speedy way to disperse these Clouds, and to restore a perfect Calm in the Kingdom, and to remove all future Danger of any civil Commotions, was the calling of a new Diet, to determine the Difference concerning this Election, and to maintain the Prince *de Conty* in his Pretensions, and to confirm his Election by the Authority, if not of all, at least of the major Number of the Palatinates.

Elector of Saxony proclaimed King of Poland.

The issue of this grand Affair kept all *Europe* in suspence for some time, but the Siege of *Barcelona*, which had been carried on for two Months together with the utmost Vigour, was look'd upon by most to be of no less Consequence. *Barcelona* is one of the most Considerable Forts in all *Spain*. It is a very large, rich, populous City, Famous for its Traffick. It is tollerably well Fortified on the Land side, having a Fort at a quarter of a Leagues distance from the Town, built upon a steep Rock. The Place was at that time provided sufficiently with Ammunition, besides which, they received constant Supplies, the Town being not begirt on that side where the Fort lay. The Garrison consisted of eleven thousand disciplin'd Troops, besides four thousand *Miquelets*. They play'd without Intermission with their Can-

Siege of Barcelona.

Cannons, Bombs, Granado's, and other Fire-Arms, and ſometimes made four Sallies in one Night. They diſputed every Inch of Ground with us in their Outworks, ſome of which they retook twice or thrice, and at laſt made new Entrenchments within the old Baſtions, and inſpite of the Prayers of the Inhabitants, and Threats of the common People, they ſtood it out, with an unparalel-led Bravery to the laſt Extremity. The Count *de la Corſana*, Governour of the City, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, Commander in Chief of the Garriſon, acquir'd immortal Glory in the Defence of this Place. On the other hand, what Pen is able to give due Praiſes to thoſe who vanquiſhed ſuch brave Men, who by their invincible Courage overcame their Reſolution, and were not diſcourag'd by the Fatigues and Dangers of ſo long and bloody a Siege? The number of the Beſieged did bear no proportion to the Beſiegers, the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s Army conſiſting of no more than thirty thouſand Men, at the beginning of the Siege, and the Reinforcement which he received from *Provence* and *Languedock*, not above eight or nine thouſand ſtrong, being all *Militia*. But what is unacceſſible to a General, who has an equal ſhare of Courage and Conduct, who knows how to manage his Troops to the utmoſt Advantage, who by his Example teaches them to out-brave all Fatigues and Dangers, and to be rather encouraged than diſmay'd at the Bravery of their Enemies?

Thus the Siege was carried on with all imaginable Vigour, tho' for want of sufficient number of Forces, we could not carry our Lines quite round the Place. The covered Way was attack'd three several times, and in three several places. In the first assault we lodged our selves upon one of the Angles, but were beaten back from the two others. We had a second Assault the next day, but without Success, not being able to maintain us in our Posts till the third. Then the Batteries on the Counterscarp began to play most furiously; The Bombs and red hot Bullets laid two thirds of the Town in Ashes, and the dead Carcasses buried under their Ruines sent forth such a nauseous Scent, as infected the whole City. Soon after we had made Breaches both in the Bastions and Courtines; but the Duke of *Vendosme* did not think it convenient to give the general Assault, till he had routed the Viceroy, to take away all hopes of relief by Land, from the Besieged, of which they had no hopes left by Sea, the Allies having at that time no Fleet in the *Mediteranean*, and a Squadron of nine *French* Men of War, many Frigats and thirty Gallies laying before the Port. The Count *d' Estree* was Commander in Chief of this Squadron; the Forces and the Officers that were embarqu'd on board of these Ships, did great Service in this Siege; The taking of the covered Way in the third Assault, being as chiefly owing to the Valour of *James de Noailles*, Lieutenant General of the *French* Gallies. All the remaining hopes of the Besieged,

Attacks upon the covered Way.

were

were in the Relief they expected from the Viceroy, who kept the Field with four or five thouſand regular Troops, and a good Body of *Miquelets*. They had alſo another ſmall Body of about ſeven or eight thouſand Horſe, and a thonſand Foot, which being poſted betwixt the Mountains, made frequent Incurſions to annoy and intercept our Convoys, and to prevent our Peaſants from carrying Proviſions to our Camp.

The Enemies Deſign was to attack our Lines in two or three places at once, and to force them, if poſſible, under the favour of a General Sally, to be made by the whole Garriſon at the ſame time. The Duke *de Vendoſme*, thinking it the ſafeſt way to prevent them in their Deſign, and having received Intelligence by his Spyes, that they were very careleſly Encamped, marched out two hours before break of Day with ſix thouſand of his beſt Men, and at the ſame time ſent a Body of three hundred Horſe, two hundred Dragoons; and a thouſand Fuſiliers, under the Bommand of the Count *d'Uſſon*, to ſurpriſe the *Spaniards* that were poſted betwixt the Mountains. *The Spaniſh Army ſurpriſed.*

The Cavalry and Outguards being cut in pieces, the Duke advanced without the leaſt Reſiſtance to the Viceroy's Quarter, where there was nothing but Confuſion, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed to be the Effects of ſuch a Surprize. Every one was for following the Example of the Viceroy, who ſaved himſelf in his Shirt, without being able to take along with him his Papers, or Scrutore, in which was a good Sum of Gold.

Two

Two or three hundred of the braveſt among them, who made ſome reſiſtance, were cut in pieces, and the reſt diſperſed in an inſtant. The whole Camp, with all their Baggage fell a Prey to our Soldiers, who burnt their Tents and every thing elſe that was not portable.

The Count *d' Uſſon*, having at the ſame time had the good Fortune, to drive the *Spaniards* from their Poſt in the Mountains, we had all the reaſon to believe that the Beſieged, being diſcouraged by this ill Succeſs, would alter their meaſures, and give over their Deſign of holding out to the laſt Extremity. But we found our ſelves deceiv'd in our hopes, for they received us with incredible Bravery, as we were giving the Aſſault about a Week after, upon the Breaches of the two Baſtions. They retook one of theſe Baſtions with great Slaughter, and after they were drove from thence a ſecond time, retreated into a ſtrong Entrenchment they had made behind the Breach of the Baſtion. Thus we were to encounter the Danger of a new Siege, there being behind the Entrenchment a ſtrong old Wall, fortified with Towers. Our Miners were ſet at Work, and every thing ready for a general Aſſault, when the Beſieged were again ſummon'd to a Surrender; but without being in the leaſt terrified at the Danger that threatned them in caſe the Town ſhould be be taken by Aſſault; they refuſed to hearken to a Capitulation, till at laſt, being overcome by the Lamentations of the Cirizens, and the Conſideration of their

Aſſault up on Barcelona.

preſent Condition, which was ſuch as not to be able to ſuſtain another Aſſault, without hazarding all, they accepted of the Conditions offer'd them by the Duke *de Vendoſme*, who, to ſhew the Eſteem he had for their Bravery, allow'd them very honourable Conditions, to wit, to march out thro' the Breach, with ſix Mortars, and thirty pieces of Cannon. Beſides which, we found in the place ſix Mortars, more and one hundred pieces of Cannon. This Siege coſt the Lives of many brave Men; we having loſt betwixt four and five thouſand on our ſide, and the Enemy above ſix houſand. *Surrender of* Barcelona.

It was was much about the ſame time, that we receiveed the welcome News of the good Succeſs of an Expedition againſt *Carthagena*, a Place belonging to the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*. The *Spaniards* are ſo over-jealous of their great Riches and vaſt Poſſeſſions in the new World, that they do not ſuffer any Foreigner among them there. This Project had been in Debate ſeveral times before; but never came to Maturity, till the Sieur *de Ponty* obtain'd Leave from the King, to undertake this Eppediti-on in Perſon. The King, to encourage the Deſign, provided the Ships; many particular Perſons furniſhing their Quota for the Equipment of them, in proportion to the Share they expected to have in the Booty. The Sieur *de Ponty* was an expert Seaman, and had rendred himſelf Famous in ſeveral Exploits.

Accordingly he set Sail in the Month of *January*, with seven Men of War, three Frigats, two other Ships, and one Bomb-Vessel He met with all the imaginable Success in his Voyage; and in the beginning of *March* following, without having met with any Tempest, or other Encounter at Sea, came to an Anchor before the Port of St. *Domingo*, where being reinforced with fifteen hundred Buckaneers, he pursued his Voyage to *Carthagena*, where at his Arrival, he found the Enemies, who had received Intelligence of his Design, making preparations to receive him.

Expedition against Carthagena.

Carthagena is one of the most Famous and best Ports the *Spaniards* are Masters of in *America*. It is a very large and populous City, built upon a *Peninsula*, its Avenues is being guraded by several Forts. There the Lower and the Upper City; The last is defended by several Bastions, and the first by a strong Fort. There were above one hundred pieces of Cannons mounted upon their Walls and Forts, their main Hopes; they avoiding all Opportunities of coming to Handy-blows; Our Troops acting not with the usual Precautions, betwixt eight and nine hundred of them were killed at their Landing by the Enemy's Cannon. In the Assault of the first Fort, the Buckaneers attack'd them with such Bravery, that they took it with little Resistance; the other Forts were also abandoned by the *Spaniards*, without striking a Blow. They defended the Fort which guards the Lower Town for some time; but that being

Description of Carthagena.

being carried by Aſſault, we fired ſo furiouſly with our great Artillery againſt the Upper Town, that they were forced to capitulate on the third day after. The Sieur *de Ponty* entred the City in Triumph; and after he had put them to Ranſom, he demoliſhed all their Baſtions and Forts. He got a prodigious Booty in the Place; For, without reckoning the vaſt Sums which each Officer and Soldier ſqueez'd out of their Landlords, betwixt eight and nine Millions of Livres in ready Coin and Ingots were brought into *France*, and a Million more in Emeralds; other precious Stones, Moveables and Gold, and one hundred Braſs Pieces of Cannon. With this vaſt Treaſure they ſet Sail from *Carthagena*, but were not long, before, at about fifty Leagues diſtance from that place, they were met by a Squadron of twenty *Engliſh* Men of War; they made a running Fight for two days; but on the third, the Sieur *de Ponty* found means, under favour of a thick Miſt, to alter his Courſe, and to eſcape the Danger, without looſing any thing of his Booty.

The taking of Carthagena.

Ponty eſcaped the Engliſh.

The Expedition made much Noiſe in all Parts of the World, every body ſtanding amaz'd at the Boldneſs of the Buckaneers, it being chiefly owing to their Bravery, that this dangerous Expedition was brought to a happy iſſue, tho' carried on with a much leſs Number of Ships and Men than ſeem'd proportionable to the Greatneſs of the Enterprize.

Theſe Advantages ſo lately obtained on our ſide, prov'd very inſtrumental to haſten the Peace

The General Peace. The Jealousy which the Confederate Princes had conceived at the King's good Fortune and Power, and the hopes of reducing him into more narrow Bounds had been the chief occasion of this War. But finding themselves deceived in these great Expectations, there was nothing left now, but to restore Tranquility to *Europe*, by a solid and durable Peace, founded upon the same Basis with that of *Nimhegen*. In this nice Conjuncture, the Prince of *Orange* (King *William* III.) acted the Part of a great Politician; and finding that the Desires of the People were absolutely bent for Peace, he made the first steps towards Accomplishing it, and by his Perswasions, prevailed upon the rest of the Confederates to follow his Example.

Accordingly the Peace was Sign'd with *Spain*, *England*, and *Holland*, on the twentieth day of *September*; and with *Germany*, about six Weeks after.

Peace Concluded. Among other Conditions, which the King did propose to the Emperour, one was, either to keep *Strasburgh*, and to give an Equivalent, or else to keep the Equivalent, and to restore *Strasburgh*; and, that, in case the Empire did not within a certain limited Time, accept of the Equivalent, he would be at his own Liberty to alter the whole Conditions of the Peace. The Imperial Cities opposed the Session of *Strasburgh*, and were seconded by most of the Electors, who, knowing that the Places offered as an Equivalent for *Strasburgh*, must be surrendred into the Emperour's hands, were not a little Jealous of this increase of his Power.

The

The Circles of *Suabia* and the *Upper Rhine* made their Complaints againſt it, alledging, that if our King was left in the poſſeſſion of *Strasburgh*, they would be forced to keep even in time of Peace, a good number of Troops on Foot, for their defence againſt ſo Potent a Neighbour. Whilſt theſe Conteſts were in agitation in the Empire, our King at the Interceſſion of the Prince of *Orange* (K. *William* III.) granted a further delay, that by the Interpoſition of the ſaid Prince and the *Hollanders*, the *Germans* might be prevail'd upon to grant the abſolute Poſſeſſion of *Strasburgh* to him.

They ſucceeded ſo well in this Negotiation, that at laſt this Famous City, which had been ſo long the main obſtacle of the Peace, was at laſt ſurrendred for ever to *France*.

Our King reſtored to *Spain*, all that had been taken from them ſince the Concluſion of the Peace of *Nimeghen*.

The young Duke of *Lorrain* was reſtored to his Eſtate, under certain Conditions.

The Elector of *Treves* put again into poſſeſſion of his Capital City of the ſame Name.

And to remove for the future, all Pretences of Conteſt betwixt the Empire and *France*, it was agreed that the *Rhine* ſhould be the common Boundary betwixt theſe two Nations; That *France* was to remain in Poſſeſſion of what they had Conquer'd on the other ſide of this River, and to reſtore, or demoliſh all Places on this ſide.

King

K. Will. acknowledged as King by France.

King *James* II. having several times requested our King, not to delay any time to put a happy Conclusion to he General Peace of *Europe*, in respect of his particular Interest; *William* III. Prince of *Orange*, was acknowledg'd King of *Great Britain* by the *French* Plenipotentiaries.

Let us trace the most authentick Monuments of Time. Let us view the most ancient Histories of all Nations, to be convinced whether they can furnish us with an Example parallel to the Greatness of our King. Will not Posterity stand amazed, when they Read, that there has been a King in *France*, who, alone, for ten years together, has been powerful enough to carry on a War against so many and great Enemies, with such Success! *France* never was sensible of its own Strength till now; but it must be confess'd, that it is owing to the Conduct of their Prince, who knows how to improve it to the best Advantage.

FINIS.

ERRATA's.

PAge 2. for *of famous Victories*, read *of two famous Victories*. p. 3. f. *revived*, r. *revive*, p. 6. f. *Clove*, r. *Cleve*. p. 8. f. *Command*, r. *Commands*. p. 22. f. *real Eſteem*, r. *ſo real an Eſteem*. p. 27. f. *this Truſt* r. *his Truſt* p. 57. f. *Eruption*, r. *Irruption*. p. 59. f. *into to*, r. *into*. f. *Juſtice on the Juſt*, r. *Juſtice on account of the Juſt*. ibid. *on the Dutchy*, r. *upon the Dutchy*. p. 62. f. *but beſides the*, r. *but the*. p. 70. f. *that is*, r. *that by his*, ibid. f. *received*, r. *revived*, p. 80. f. *having a diſguſt*, r. *having taken a diſguſt*. p. 83. f. *adjudging*, r. *as judging*. p. 99. f. *hazard* r. *hazards*. p. 112. inſt. of *where*, r. *wherein*. p. inſt. of Flanders *and* Spain, r. Flanders *in* Spain. p. 118. inſt *of the Inner Guard*, r. *Rear-Guard*. p. 121. f. *and buries*, r. *and to bury*. p. 123. f. *ſo ſtrong*, r. *too*. p. 124. f. *to their Charge*, r. *to the Charge*. p. 126. inſt. of *Port*, r. *Poſt*. p. 135. inſt. of *Count* Calva, r. *Count* Calvo. p. 147. f. *himſelf a brave*, r. *himſelf as a brave*. p. 152. f. *ſmall and troubleſome*, r. *cruel and troubleſome*. p. 156. f. *of Glacis and Counter ſharp*, r. *Glacis of the Counter-ſharp*. p. 159. f. *ſome new time*, r. *new ones*. p. 171. f. Nimiguen, r. Nimhegen. p. 174. f. *whilſt they pretended*, r. *whilſt others pretended*. ib. f. *Ports*, r. *Parts*. p. 175. f. *Irreconciliable*, r. *Amicable*. p. 176. f. *to Generoſity*, r. *of Generoſity*. p. 180. f. *to the Souvereign*, r. *to Sovereigns*. p. 181. f. *by King and Council*, r. *by the King and his Council*. ibid. f. *pointed Conteſts*, r. *Point in Conteſt*. p. 182. f. *which is*, r. *ſuch is*. p. 187. f. *Biſhops the*, r. *Biſhops, and when the*. p. 189. f. *violent muſt*, r. *violent means*. p. 192. f. *But the*, r. *But as the*. p. 295. f. *of the Deciſion to the Pope*, r. *to the Deciſion of the Pope*. p. 197. f. *and been read*, r. *and having been*. ibid. f. *not forced*, r. *not only forced*. ibid. f. *giving*, r. *given*. p. 199. f. *this*, r. *his*. p. 214. f. Wall-coure, r. Wallcour. p. 249. f. *Patteroons*, r. *Pontroons*. p. 252. f. *Confuſion*, r. *Concuſſion*. p. 260. f. *was ſo*, r. *was not come ſo*. p. 261. f. Genove, r. Genova. ib. f. Foreſt, r. Breſt. p. 262. f. *were great*, r. *were no great*. p. 267. f. Cardaign, r. Sardaign. p. 268. f. *Men with*, r. *Men fluſh'd with*. ib. f. *that their Enterprizes*, r. *that Enterprizes*. p. 273. f. *or of Prince*, r. *or Prince*. p. 276. f. *who alſo*, r. *who at*. p. 279. f. Cologne, r. *St.* Olonne. p. 281. f. *all common Cattle*, r. *all the Cattle*. p. 284. f. *all that*, r. *as that*, p. 294. f. *actually*, r. *equally*. ibid. f. *Coll.* Johnſon, r. *Cardinal* Johnſon. p. 294 f. *till he had*, r. *till they had*. ibid. f. Malehoor, r. Melchior. p. 300. f. *Forts*, r. *Ports*. p. 302. f. *as chiefly*, r. *chiefly*.